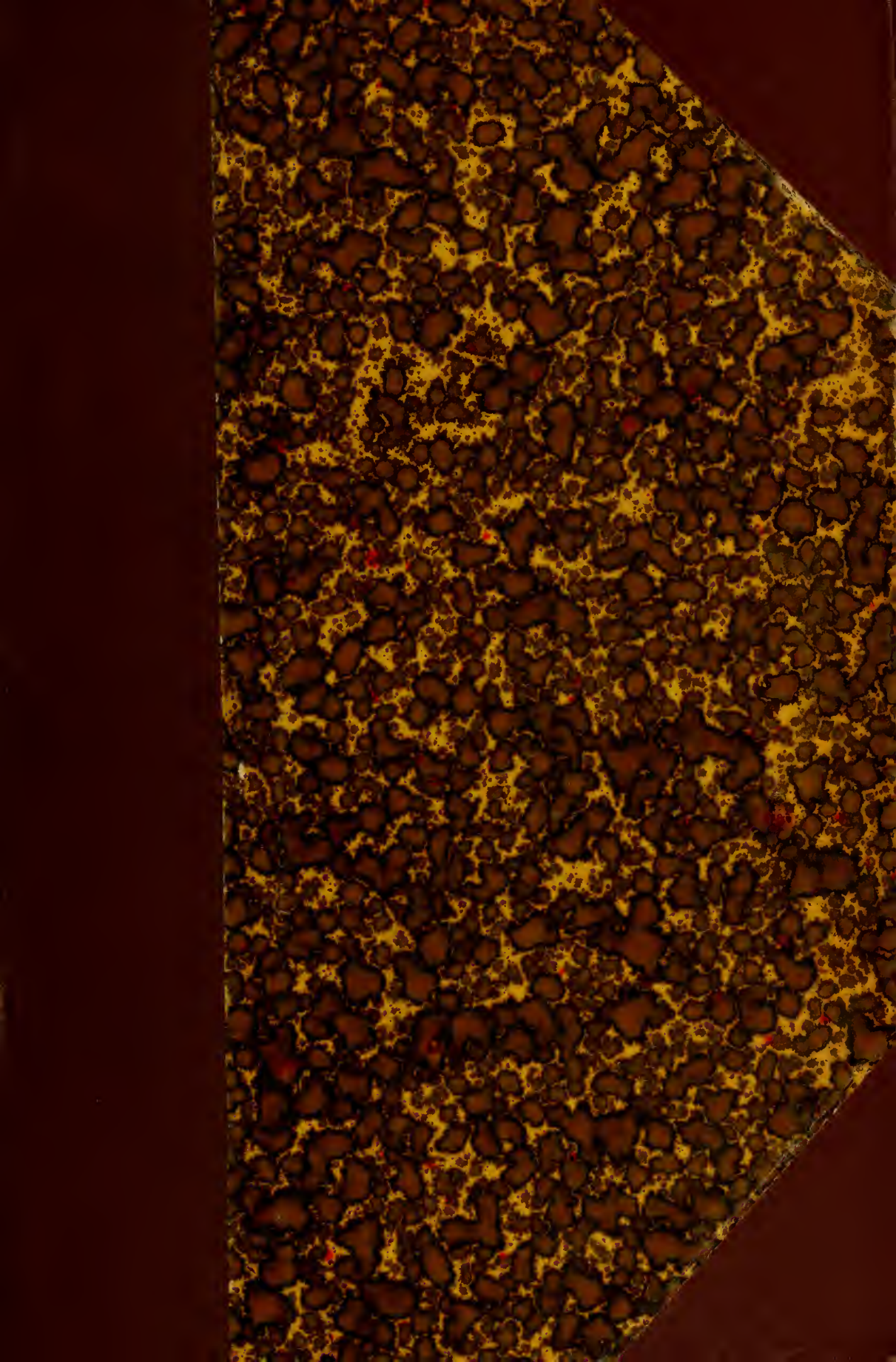

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE
CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
INCORPORATED A. D. 1799

VOLUME 15. JULY, 1909

TO THE
UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG
ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIVE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FOUNDATION FROM YALE UNIVERSITY AND THE CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
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ΤΩΙ ΕΝ ΛΕΙΨΙΑΙ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΩΙ
ΕΠΙ ΤΕΤΕΛΕΣΜΕΝΗΙ
ΤΗΙ ΠΕΜΠΤΗΙ ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΕΤΗΡΙΔΙ ΕΟΡΤΑΖΟΝΤΙ
ΕΣΠΕΡΙΟΙ

Γερμανῶν σοφίης ἀπελαύσαμεν οὐκ ἀχάριστοι,
ξεινοδόκου τ᾽ ἤθους, γνησίου, ὑψίφρονος.
τοιγὰρ ἐπιστημῶν ἔδος οὐρανίων ἐρατῶν τε
πεντηκοντάδ᾽ ἐτῶν νῦν δεκάτην τελέον
ἄσμενοι ἐκ γαίης ἀσπαζόμεθ᾽ ἀλλοθρόοιο,
ἀλλοφρονοῦντες δ᾽ οὔ, σύγγονοι ἑσπέριοι.
εἰ δ᾽ οὔπω πεπέρακεν ὅχος πτερόεις μέγα λαῖτμα,
ἀλλ᾽ ἔπεα πτερόεντ᾽ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα περᾷ.
ὥρα μὲν οὖν τάδ᾽ ὁποῖά γε δὴ πρόφρων ἀπόδεξαι,
Λειψία, αὔξοιεν δ᾽ ἑσσόμενοι τὸ κλέος.

Yale University. Thomas D. Goodell.

SOME ITALA FRAGMENTS IN VERONA

CHARLES U. CLARK

I.—Some Itala Fragments in Verona.

(With 1 plate.)

During the summer of 1899 I had the privilege of making a careful study of the valuable library of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Verona. This collection vies with that in Lyons for the completeness of its representation of local types of writing from the sixth century on. My investigations were directed by my beloved master, the late Ludwig Traube, who utilized them especially in his "Nomina Sacra." Among the manuscripts to which he called my attention was one labeled I (1) app. This proved to consist of several detached leaves which had been torn out of early codices and used as fly-leaves (*pagine di guardia*). Three of the folios had belonged to a Bible, written (to judge from the handsome and regular uncials) at Verona about 500 A.D. These were catalogued as from the Vulgate; but a cursory examination showed that they presented a pre-Jerome version (for which I use the convenient misnomer, Itala). Traube at once connected these fragments with those of Prov. 15–17 discovered by Mone in the monastery of St. Paul in Carinthia (which has Verona Mss.), and published by him in his "De Libris Palimpsestis" (1855), pp. 49–51. Certainly these latter stand about in the same relation to the Septuagint as ours. Correspondence with Prof. Thielmann brought out the fact that he possessed a transcript of two of the fragments (those of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus), made by Dr. Hugo Linke of Breslau, who is thus their original discoverer (cf. the reference in Ph. Thielmann, Über das handschr. Material zu einer krit. Ausgabe etc., Sitzungsber. der philos.-philol. u. d. histor. Classe der k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. 1899, Bd. II, Heft II, p. 211, 28). Both Prof. Thielmann and Dr. Linke have kindly encouraged me to publish them. I add an interesting *lectio* from Ezekiel, written in a cursive hand of the seventh or eighth century, on the blank verso of the first folio of the MS. II (2) of the same library. For aid and suggestions I am indebted to all three gentlemen named, and also to the genial and helpful librarian of the chapter, D. Antonio Spagnolo.

The three fragments contained in I (1) are badly rubbed and torn. Folios 1 and 2 lack side and bottom margins, together with the letters at the beginning and end of several lines, folio 2 being in much the worse condition. Folio 3 lacks the inner, side and

bottom margins, as will be seen from our plate, which reproduces my photograph of the verso. Their greatest hight and width are respectively $24\frac{1}{2}\times18$, $20\frac{1}{2}\times15\frac{1}{2}$ and $22\frac{1}{2}\times19\frac{1}{2}$ cm.

(Letters only partly visible are enclosed in brackets; those altogether illegible or lacking are printed in minuscule.)

Fragment 1. Ecclus. 34, 12–30.

1 [m]ulta uidi in peregr)natione mea errando
2 et abundantia uerborum meorum
3)ntellectus meus
4 frequenter usque ad mortem periclitatus
5 sum horum causa
6 et saluatus sum gratia dī
7 s̄p̄s timentium dn̄m uiuet
8 et in respectu)llius benedicentur
9 spes enim illorum super saluatorem illor[u]m
10 et oculi dī super eos qui diligunt illum
11 qui timet dn̄m nihil trepidatur
12 et non pauebit quoniam ipse est spes eius
13 [t]imentis dn̄m beata est anima
14 ad quem resp)cit et quis est fortitudo ejus
15 [o]culi dn̄i super timentes eum
16 protector potentiae et firmamentum uirtutis
17 tegumen ardoris et umbraculum merid[ia]ni
18 depraecat)o offens)onis et ad)utor)um ca[s]us
19 exaltans animus et inluminans oculos
20 dans sanitatem uitam et benedictione[m]
21 de iniquis oblationibus
22 immolans ex iniquo oblatio est maculata
23 et non sunt beneplacitae subsa[n]nationes

Notes to 1 recto.

1. *in peregrinatione mea*] om. Vg. *ἐν τῇ ἀποπλανήσει μου* Sept. 2. *abundantia*—3. *meus*] *plurimas uerborum consuetudines* Vg. *πλείονα τῶν λόγων μου, σύνεσίς μου* Sept. 4. *frequenter*] *aliquotiens* Vg. *πλεονάκις* Sept. 6. *saluatus*] *liberatus* Vg. *διεσώθην* Sept. 7. *dominum uiuet*] *deum quaeritur* Vg. *κύριον ζήσεται* Sept. 8. *benedicentur* (so the Codex Amiatinus, *A*)] *-cetur* Vg. Sept. omits the second half of verse 14. 9. *super saluatorem illor(um)*] *in saluantem illos* Vg. *ἐπὶ τὸν σώζοντα αὐτούς* Sept. 10. *super eos qui diligunt illum*] *in diligentes*

se Vg. Sept. omits this half-verse. 11. *deum*] *dominum* Vg. *κύριον* Sept. *trepidatur*] *-dabit* Vg. *ἐὰν βιασθήσεται* Sept. 13. *eius* add. Vg. at end; om. *A* and Sept. 16. *et*] om. Vg.; *καί* Sept. 19. *animus* (i. e. *-os*)] *-mam* Vg. *ψυχήν* Sept. Perhaps influenced by *oculos*. 20. *uitam*] *et u.* Vg. *ζωήν* (without *καί*) Sept. 21. *de i. o.*] Vg. and Sept. om. this heading: *A* has *de oblatione iniqua*. 22. *(i)mmolans* (so *A*)] *-ntis* Vg. *θυσιάζων* Sept.

1 verso.

1 INIQUORUM
2 non [p]LACEBUNT ALTISSIMO OBLATIONES INPIOR[u]m
3 nec)N MULTITUDINE SACRIFICIORUM PROTIABI
4 TUR PECCATIS
5 qui OFFERET SACRIFICIUM EX SUBSTANTIA PAUPERum
6 ta[m]QUAM QUI OCCIDIT FILIUM IN CONSPECTU
7 PATRIS SU)
8 panis EGENTIUM UITA PAUPERIS EST
9 qui DEFRAUDAT)LLUM HOMO EST SANGUINUM
10 qui AUFERET)N SUDORE PANEM QUASI QUI
11 OCCIDAT PROXIMUM SUUM
12 et EFFUNDENS SANGUINEM ET FRAUDANS
13 MERCEDEM MERCENNARII
14 unu[s] AEDIFICANS ET UNUS DESTRUENS
15 qui[d] PRODE EST ILLIS NISI LABOR
16 unus [o]RANS ET UNUS MALEDICENS
17 cui[u]S UOCEM EXAUDIET D$
18 qui BAPTIZATUR A MORTUO ET ITERUM TANGIT ILL[u]m
19 quid PROFICIT IN LAUACRO SUO
20 sic HOMO QUI IEIUNAT SUPER PECCATA SUA ET
21 ITERUM AMBULANS EADEM FACIT
22 orationem ej$ quis EXAUDIET
23 et quid prof[i]CIT DUM SE HUMILIAUERIT

Notes to 1 verso.

1. *iniquorum*] *iniustorum* Vg. *ἀνόμων* Sept. The following verse of the Vg. is omitted by the Sept. and by our text. 2. (*nec* or *non p)lacebunt etc.*] *dona iniquorum non probat altissimus, nec respicit in oblationes iniquorum* Vg.; *οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν προσφοραῖς ἀσεβῶν* Sept. 3. Vg. adds *eorum* after *propitiabitur* (our form is simply a miswriting); it is not in the Sept. 5. *offeret* is merely the vulgar

form, like *auferet* in 10. 6. *(tam)quam*] *quasi* Vg.; not in the Sept., but ὡς is added by Chrysostom Hom. 7, 537. *occidit*] *uictimat* Vg. θύων Sept. ἀποκτένων Chrysost. l. c. 8. *pauperis*] *-rum* Vg. πενήτων Sept.; Sabatier adduces several cases of *pauperis*, which we find also in *A*. 9. *est sanguinum*] *sanguinis est* Vg. ἄνθρωπος αἱμάτων Sept. 11. *occidat*] *-dit* Vg.; present ppl. in Sept. 12–13. *(et e)ffundens etc.*] *qui effundit sanguinem et qui fraudem facit mercenario, fratres sunt* Vg. καὶ ἐκχέων αἷμα ὁ ἀποστερῶν μισθὸν μισθίου Sept. For this and the following, Sabatier compares the similar passage from Pseudo-Augustine de div. scr. (pp. 147–8, ed. Weihrich, C.S.E.L. 12). 15. *prode est*, the common late form for *prodest*. 18. *ill(um)*] *eum* Vg. 19. *in lauacro suo*] *lauatio illius* Vg. τῷ (ἐν τῷ ℵA) λουτρῷ αὐτοῦ Sept. 20. *super peccata sua*] *in peccatis suis* Vg. ἐπί with gen. in Sept. 21–23. *iterum-humiliauerit*] *iterum eadem faciens, quid proficit humiliando se? orationem illius quis exaudiet?* Vg. καὶ πάλιν πορευόμενος καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιῶν· τῆς προσευχῆς αὐτοῦ τίς εἰσακούσεται; καὶ τί ὠφέλησεν ἐν τῷ ταπεινωθῆναι αὐτόν; Sept.

Fragment 2. Prov. 6, 7–19.

1 [N]eque sub domino sit
2 quomodo sibi praeparat aestate cibum
3 p[l]urimam autem per messem facit
4 repositione(?)m
5 aut uade ad apem et uide [quam?]
6 operatrix sit
7 operationem autem qua[m] sanctam(?)
8 mer[cat]ur
9 cuius labores [reg]es et impe[r]i[ti](?)
10 salutem [adsu]munt
11 grata est autem omnibus [et glo]riosa
12 et cum sit uiribus)n[f]irma
13 sapientiam honorans [praeuect]a est
14 quousque piger iaces
15 quando autem de somno sur[ges]
16 modicum quidem dormis
17 modicum autem sedes
18 [modic]um uero dormitas
19 [m]odicum uero amplecteris manibus
20 pectus
21 [d]einde superueniet· tibi sicut uiator
22 [et]inopia tamqu[am] bonus cursor

Notes to 2 recto.

1. *(n)eque—sit*] *nec principem* Vg. μηδὲ ὑπὸ δεσπότην ὤν Sept. 2. *quomodo sibi praeparat hestat(e)*] *parat in aestate* Vg. *(in* om. *A) quemadmodum praeparat* Ambr. Hex. 6, 118 ἑτοιμάζεται θέρους Sept. 3–4. *(pl)urimam autem per messem . . . reposit.*] *et congregat in messe quod comedat* Vg. *quae de tuis laboribus sibi messem recondit* Ambr. l. c. πολλὴν τε ἐν τῷ ἀμήτῳ ποιεῖται τὴν παράθεσιν Sept. 5–13 are altogether lacking in the Vg. Sabatier supplies them from Ambrose Hex. 5, 107 D. For clearness, I subjoin our entire passage: *aut uade ad apem et uide (quomodo? quam?) operatrix sit, operationem autem quam sanctam (?) mercatur*; *cuius labores reges et imperiti (?) salutem ad* (for *ad salutem?*) *sumunt*; *grata est autem omnibus et gloriosa, et cum sit uiribus infirma, sapientiam honorans praecuncta est.* The Ambrose passage runs as follows: *uade ad apem et uide quomodo operaria est, operationem quoque quam uenerabilem mercatur*; *cuius laborem reges et mediocres ad salutem sumunt*; *appetibilis enim est omnibus et clara*; *cum sit robore infirma, sapientiae praedicatione substantiae suae producit aetatem.* Jerome in Ezech. 3, 3 (also quoted by Sabatier) in pointing out that this passage is not found in the Hebrew, translates the first part of it thus: *uade ad apem et disce quomodo operatrix sit, et opus suum castum faciat*; *cuius laboribus reges et imperiti pro sanitate abutuntur.* Pseudo-Augustine de div. scr. 86 (p. 594, Weihrich) reads: *uel uade ad apem, et disce quam laboriosa est* (*sit* MVLC), *operationem etiam* (*et* MVLC) *quam sanctam mercatur*; *cuius labores reges et mediocres ad sanitatem offerunt*; *grata est autem omnibus et gloriosa et cum sit uiribus infirma, sapientiam praedicans producta est.* The Sept. has: ἢ πορεύθητι πρὸς τὴν μέλισσαν καὶ μάθε ὡς ἐργάτις ἐστιν, τήν τε ἐργασίαν ὡς σεμνὴν ποιεῖται· ἧς τοὺς πόνους βασιλεῖς καὶ ἰδιῶται πρὸς ὑγείαν προσφέρονται (φέρονται A), ποθεινὴ δέ ἐστιν πᾶσιν καὶ ἐπίδοξος· καίπερ οὖσα τῇ ῥώμῃ ἀσθενής, τὴν σοφίαν τιμήσασα προήχθη. 14. *quousque*] *usquequo* Vg. *iaces*] *dormies* Vg. κατάκεισαι Sept. 15. *autem de somno sur(ges)*] *consurges e somno tuo* Vg. δὲ ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθήσῃ Sept. 16–20. *modicum quidem dormis, modicum autem sedes, (modic)um uero dormitas, (m)odicum uero amplecteris ma(nibus) pectus* (*A* has *manibus pectus*)] *paululum dormies, paululum dormitabis, paululum conseres manus ut dormias* Vg. ὀλίγον μὲν ὕπνοις, ὀλίγον δὲ κάθησαι, μικρὸν δὲ νυστάζεις, ὀλίγον δὲ ἐναγκαλίζῃ χερσὶν στήθη Sept. Our version is closely allied to that given by Sabatier from Nicetius Trevir. Spicileg., which however alters the particles somewhat, and reads *pusillum* for the last *modicum*. Ps.-Aug. de div. ser. 86 (p. 595, Weihrich) agrees

still more closely, the only variants being *quidem* for *uero* (18), *autem* for *uero* (19), and *manibus conplecteris pectus* (19–20); cf. also Paulin. Nol. Ep. 9, 2. 21–22. *(d)einde superueniet tibi sicut uia(tor paupertas)(et) inopia tamqu(am) bonus cursor*] *et ueniet tibi quasi uiator, egestas, et pauperies quasi uir armatus* Vg. *deinde superueniet tibi tamquam uiator paupertas, inopia autem sicut bonus cursor* Nicetius l. c. *d. adueniet t. sicut malus uiator p., i. a. s. b. c.* Ps.-Aug. de div. scr. 86. *εἶτ' ἐνπαραγίνεταί σοι ὥσπερ κακὸς ὁδοιπόρος ἡ πενία, καὶ ἡ ἔνδεια ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς δρομεύς* Sept.

2 verso.

1 ueniet ut f[o]NS MESSIS TUA
2 inopia autEM TAMQUAM MALUS UIR
3 longE FUGIET TE
4 uir prauus Et INIQUUS)NGREDITUR UIAS
5 NON BONAS
6 ille ipsE AUTEM ANNUIT oculos Et
7 s[i]GNIFICAT pedE
8 docet AUTEM NUTIBUS oculorum
9 peruERSO [AUTE]M corde FABRICAT MALA
10 omni AUTEM TEMPORE qui talis Est CONCITA[T]
11 t[U]RBATIONES CIUIBUS
12 propteR hoc UENIET SUBITO INTERITUS EIUS
13 co[N]CISIO Et CONTRIBULATIO INSANABILIS
14 quod g[AUDET] IN his quAE odit dNS
15 conte[RITU]R AUTEM PROPTER INMUNDITIA[M]
16 A[N]IMAE
17 oculi c[o]NT[UM])liosi linGUA INIQUA
18 manu[S] SUNT EFFUNDENTES SANGUI
19 [N]EM IUSTI
20 et cor f[A]BRICANS COGITATIONES MALAS
21 et pedes FESTINANTES AD MALEFACIENDUM
22 accen[D]IT FALSA TESTES [IN])QUUS

Notes to 2 verso.

2–3. *(inopia au)tem tamquam malus uir (long)e fugiet te*] *et egestas longe fugiet a te* Vg. *i. a. sicut bonus cursor refugiet te.* Ps.-Aug. de div. scr. 86. *ἡ δὲ ἔνδεια ὥσπερ κακὸς δρομεὺς (ἀνὴρ* A) *ἀπαντομολήσει* Sept. 4–5. *(uir prau)us et iniquus ingreditur uias non bonas*] *homo*

apostata, uir inutilis, graditur ore peruerso Vg. Sabatier knew of no ancient version for 4–16. Ps.-Aug. de div. scr. 88 reads: *uir stultus et iniquus uadit u. n. b.* The Sept. has here: ἀνὴρ ἄφρων καὶ παράνομος πορεύεται ὁδοὺς οὐκ ἀγαθάς. 6–7. (*ille i*)*pse autem annuit oculos* (for *-lis*? *-lo*?) *et* (*si*)*gnificat pede*] *annuit oculis, terit pede* Vg. *ipse autem adnuit oculo et s. p.* Ps.-Aug. de div. scr. 88. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐννεύει ὀφθαλμῷ, σημαίνει δὲ ποδί Sept. 8. (*doce*)*t autem nutibus oculorum*] *digito loquitur* Vg. διδάσκει δὲ ἐννεύμασιν δακτύλων Sept. I find no Greek or other authority for *oculorum*; the writing is badly rubbed here, but a careful study of my photograph confirms me in the reading; I believe the scribe had *digitorum* before him, but was misled by the *oculos* above. Curiously enough, δακτύλων stands in an erasure in A. 9. (*peru*)*erso* (*aute*)*m corde fabricat mala*] *praua corde machinatur malum* Vg. διεστραμμένῃ (δέ add. ℵ A) καρδίᾳ τεκταίνεται κακά Sept. 10–11. (*omni*) *autem tempore qui talis est concita*(*t tu*)*rbationes ciuibus*] *et omni tempore iurgia seminat* Vg. ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ (connected by Swete with the preceding, tho A agrees with our text and the Vg.) ὁ τοιοῦτος ταραχὰς συνίστησιν πόλει Sept. 12–16. (*propte*)*r hoc ueniet subito interitus eius, (con)cisio et contribulatio insanabilis, (quod gaudet) in his quae odit dominus*; (*conteritu*)*r autem propter inmunditia*(*m*) *a*(*n*)*imae*] *huic extemplo ueniet perditio sua, et subito conteretur, nec habebit ultra medicinam. sex sunt quae odit dominus, et septimum detestatur anima eius* Vg. διὰ τοῦτο ἐξαπίνης ἔρχεται ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτοῦ, διακοπὴ καὶ συντριβὴ ἀνίατος· ὅτι χαίρει πᾶσιν οἷς μισεῖ ὁ θεός (κύριος ℵ A), συντρίβεται δὲ δι' ἀκαθαρσίαν ψυχῆς Sept. 17–19. (*oculi*) *c*(*o*)*nt*(*um*)*iliosi, lingua iniqua,* (*manus*) *sunt effundentes sangui*(*n*)*em iusti*] *oculos sublimes, linguam mendacem, manus effundentes innoxium sanguinem* (last four words omitted by *A*) Vg. ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑβριστοῦ, γλῶσσα ἄδικος, χεῖρες ἐκχέουσαι αἷμα δικαίου Sept. Here Sabatier's testimonia from the Fathers are particularly interesting; Jerome in Nahum 2, quotes the first four words of our text; Lucifer of Cagliari, de S. Athan. 1, 26, agrees with our passage, except for *oculus contumeliosus* at the beginning; it is clear from this fragment, as Hartel had already seen, that Sabatier was wrong in explaining the *sunt* as an interpolation by the Lucifer copyist; Lucifer found it in the version he used—our own. Thielmann suggests that Lucifer's use of this version shows that it had official currency. 20–21. (*et cor fa*)*bricans cogitationes malas,* (*et pede*)*s festinantes ad malefaciendum*] *cor machinans cogitationes pessimas, pedes ueloces ad currendum in malum* Vg. Lucifer (l. c.) quotes our text exactly. The Sept. has: καὶ καρδία τεκταινομένη λογισμοὺς κακούς, καὶ πόδες ἐπισπεύδοντες κακοποιεῖν. 22. (*accend*)*it falsa testes*

(for *testis*) (*in*)*iquus*] *proferentem mendacia testem fallacem* Vg. No ancient version known to Sabatier. *accendit f. t. iniustus* Ps.-Aug. de div. scr. 42. In the Sept. we have: ἐκκαίει ψευδῆ μάρτυς ἄδικος.

Fragment 3. Wisdom 10 : 10–11 : 2.

1 [ET OST]EN[DI]T ILLI RE[GNUM DE]
2 ET DEDIT ILLI SCIENT[IAM SANCTORU]M
3 HONESTAUIT ILLUM IN DOLORIBUS
4 ET CONPLEUIT LABORES ILLIUS
5 ET IN FRAUDEM CIRCUMUENIEN[TIUM] ILL[UM]
6 ET HONESTUM ILLUM FECIT
7 ET CUSTODIUIT ILLUM AB INIMICIS
8 ET A SEDUCTORIBUS [T]U[T]AUIT [ILLUM]
9 ET IN CERTAMEN FORTEM [FECIT UT UINCAT]
10 UT SCIRET QUONIAM OMNIUM [POTENTIOR]
11 EST PIETAS
12 HAEC UINDITUM IUSTUM NON DERELIQUI[D]
13 SED A PECCATORIBUS LIBERAUIT ILLUM
14 DISCENDIT CUM ILLO IN FOUEAM
15 ET IN UINCULIS NON DERELIQUID ILLUM
16 DONEC ADFERRET ILLI POTENTIAM regni
17 ET POTENTIAM ADUERSUS EOS QUI illum
18 DEPRIMEBANT
19 ET MENDACES OSTEND[IT QUI MA]CU[L]aue
20 RUNT ILLUM
21 et [DE]DIT I[LLI] claritatem aeternam
22 ha[EC] popo[LUM IUSTUM] et semen sine
23 que[RELA] libe[RAUIT] a nationibus

Notes to 3 recto.

In Wisdom, Jerome merely adopted the Itala, having access only to the Greek; our fragment has therefore only minor differences from the Vg. Thielmann notes that this is the oldest manuscript yet known of any part of the Latin version of Wisdom. 3. *dolo-*(*ribus*)] *laboribus* Vg., which has also *labores* in 4; our version follows the Sept. in differentiating between μόχθοις (here) and πόνους (κόπους ℵ A) (4). 5. *et in fraudem*] *in fraude* Vg. The Sept. has ἐν with the dative. Doubtless by mistake our scribe has left out the *adfuit illi* which we find in the Vg. (*adfuit* alone, *A*). 6. *illum fecit* (as in *A*)]

Vg. transposes. 7. *et*] om. Vg. and Sept.; but ℵ has *καί*. 9. *et in certamen fortem (fecit ut uincat)*] *et certamen forte dedit illi ut uinceret* Vg. The Sept. reads: *καὶ ἀγῶνα ἰσχυρὸν ἐβράβευσεν αὐτῷ(αὐτόν* 261). 10. *ut*] *et* Vg. *ἵνα* Sept. 11. *pietas*] *sapientia* Vg. *εὐσέβεια* Sept. 12. *nin-* for *nen-*, the common confusion between *e* and *i*. Cf. *discendit* in 14. The *-d* of *dereliquid* (12 and 15) is likewise a very common error. 13. *illum*] *eum* Vg. 14. Vg. adds *que* (no conjunction in Sept.) after *descendit*. 16. *potentiam*] this must be a miswriting for *sceptrum* (which we find in the Vg.) caused by the *potentiam* immediately following. 17. *(illum)*] my conjecture (cf. 13 above) for the *eum* of Vg., as one expects more than three letters here.

3 verso.

1 quae illum [c]o[n]PRIMEBANT
2 i[n]TRAUIT IN ANIMAM SERUI DN̄I
3 et STETI[t] CO[N]TRA REGES BORRENDOS IN POR
4 TENTIS ET SIGNIS
5 et re[d]DIDIT IUSTIS MERCEDEM LABORUM ILLORUM
6 et DEDUXIT ILLOS IN UIA MIRABILI
7 et FUIT ILLIS IN UELAMENTO D̄I
8 et IN LUCE STELLARUM NOCTU
9 et [t]RANSTULIT ILLOS MARE BORRENDUM
10 et [t]RANSUEXIT EOS PER AQUAM NIMIAM
11 inimicos autem illorum demersit
12 et [a]B ALTITUDINE INFERORUM EDUXIT ILLOS
13 ideo IUSTI TULERUNT SPOLIA INPIORUM
14 et [d]ECANTAUERUNT D̄S̄ NOMEN TUUM SANCTUM
15 et [u]INDITRICEM MANUM TUAM LAUDAUE
16 RUNT PARITER
17 quoniam SAPIENTIA APERUIT OS MUTUM
18 et LINGUAS INFANTIUM FECIT DESERTAS
19 dire[x]IT OPERAS ILLORUM IN MANIBUS
20 p[r]OFETAE SANCTI
21 iter feceRUNT PER DESERTUM QUOD NON
22 h[a]BITABA[t]UR
23 et in locis s[ec]Re[ti fi]XERUNT CASAS

Notes to 3 verso.

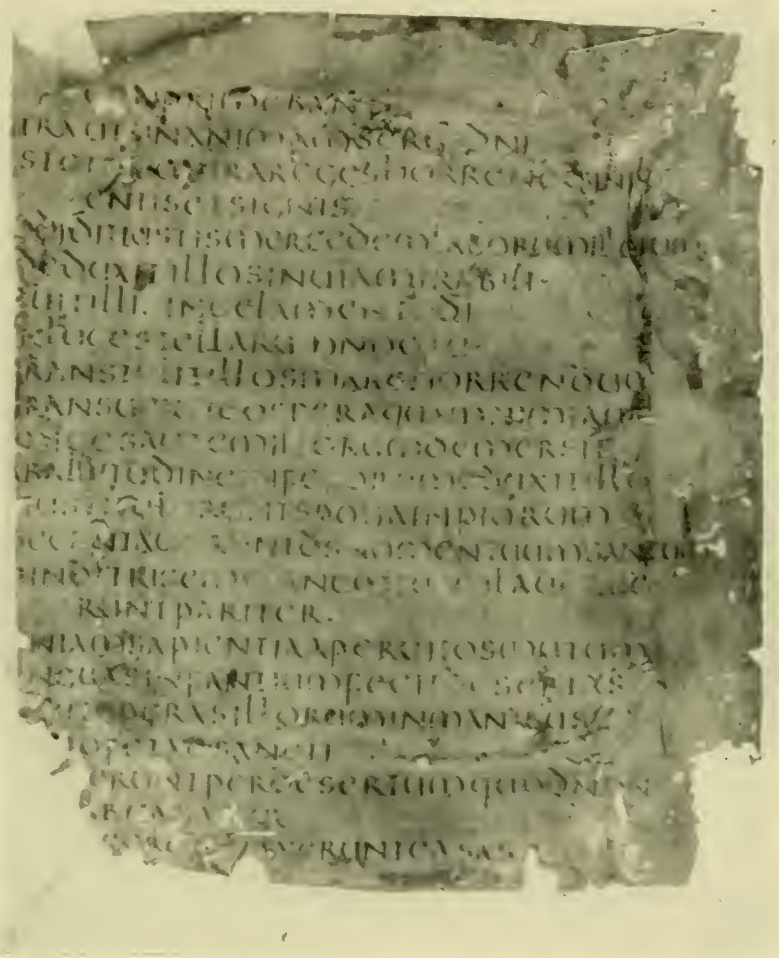
1. *(con)primebant* (so *A*)] *deprim-* Vg. cf. Sabatier's note. θλιβόντων Sept. 2. *domini* (so *A*)] *dei* Vg. κυρίου Sept. 5. *illorum*] *suorum* Vg. αὐτῶν Sept. 7. *dei*] a copyist's mistake for *diei* or *die*. 8. *noctu* (*nocte A*)] *per noctem* Vg. τὴν νύκτα Sept. 9. *(et t)ranstulit illos mare horrendum*; *et* I supplied because of the space left free] *transtulit illos per* (*per* om. *A*) *mare rubrum* Vg. Sabatier adduces our text (without the *et*) from two Paris MSS. The Sept. has: διεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς θάλασσαν ἐρυθράν. 10. *eos*] *illos* Vg. αὐτούς Sept. 11. The Vg. adds *in mare* after *demersit*; but the Sept. has the verb alone. 14. *deus*] *domine* Vg. κύριε Sept. *tuum sanctum*] transpos. Vg. and Sept. 15. *(u)inditricem*] a scribe's error for *uindictricem*, a very rare word which Petschenig restored in Victor Vit. 1, 35; *uictricem* Vg. υπέρμαχον Sept. 17. *mutum*] *mutorum* Vg. κωφῶν Sept. 18. *desertas*] common mistake for *disertas* Vg. 19. *operas illorum*] *opera eorum* Vg. *o. illorum A.* τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν Sept. 21–22. *desertum quod non h(a)bitaba(t)ur*] *deserta quae non habitabantur* Vg. ἔρημον ἀοίκητον Sept. 23. *(in locis sec)r(eti)* (for *-tis*)] *in locis desertis* Vg. Sabatier quotes *secretis* from several MSS., and it is *A*'s reading. The Sept. has ἐν ἀβάτοις.

Pending the publication of Thielmann's edition, it is not worth while to discuss in detail the affinities of this version. It is clearly based on a good recension of the Septuagint, which it translates in general conscientiously. Any consideration of its Latinity must also be deferred for the present; I would, however, call attention to the use of *uindictrix* in 3 verso, 15. The student of Latin style and of Latin semantics will find much of interest in a comparison of the readings of our text with those of the Vulgate.

Transcript

Verona (Cap.) II (2), f. 1 verso (Ezekiel 36: 22–28).

1 *Epiffania ad uigilia*
2 *Lec^t ezehieles. p͡fr, hec dicet d͡ns o͡mp͡s*
3 *Non propter uos ego facio domus i͡hl. sed propter nomen*
4 *meum s͡cm. quod polluistis In nationibꝰ quas intrastes*
5 *Et s͡cificabo nomen m͡m magnum. quod pollutum est*
6 *Inter nationes. quod polluistis In medi^o ea* ℞. *& scient gentes*
7 *quod ego sum d͡ns; dum s͡cificor In uobis. ante*



8 *oculos eo*$_{R}$. & *accipiam uos de gentibus.* & *congre*
9 *gabo uos. ex omnibs terris;* & *inducam uos In terra*
10 *uestram.* & *aspgam sup uos aquam munda.*
11 & *mundati eretes. ab omnibs Iniquitatibs uestris.*
12 & *ab omnibs simulagris uestris;* & *mundabo uos.* & *da*
13 *bo uobis. cor nouum.* & *spm nouum dabo in uos;* & *au*
14 *feram cor lapedeum de carne uestra.* & *dabo uobis*
15 *cor carneum.* & *spm meum dabo in uos;*
16 *Et faciam ut In meis iustitiis amboletes.* & *Iuditia mea costodi*
17 *ates* & *faciates.* & *habite*(?)*tes In terra quam dedi.*
18 *patribus uestris;* & *eretes mihi In popolum et ego*
19 *ero uobis In dm dixit dns.*

The famous uncial MS. of the *Libri Regum ex uersione Hieronymiana* (Ver. [Cap.] II [2]) contains the above lectio from Ezekiel on the verso of the first folio. This leaf measures 28½×23 cm., and has been bound into the first quaternion of the MS. The extract is written in a flowing North Italian cursive of the seventh or eighth century; but it is almost illegible in places, as the leaf has been much rubbed. Maffei annotated it, setting the Vg. readings in the margin; but I cannot find that he published it; and as Sabatier knew no pre-Jerome version for this passage except that quoted by Tichonius, who used an Itala very like ours (cf. Eugipp. Exc. 274, C.S.E.L. 9, pp. 869–70), it seems worth while to transcribe it here, with a brief commentary upon its variations from the Vg. The passage contains Ezek. 36, 22–28.

Notes.

The Latin is characteristically "Merovingian," with its confusions of e and i, o and u, c and g. The abbreviations are interesting; *ihl* (3) is one of the earliest occurrences of this form for *israel* (cf. Traube, Nomina Sacra, 109); the same is true of *dns* (2) for *dominus*; while *pfr* (2) for *profetae* is unique so far as I know, and to be compared with *nrt* for *noster* (which, with allied forms, Traube discusses in N.S. 230–31).

2. *omnipotens*] *deus* Vg. om. Sept. 3. *facio*] *faciam* Vg. ποιῶ Sept. 4. *meum sanctum*] transpos. Vg. μου τὸ ἅγιον Sept. *nationibus quas*] *gentibus ad quas* Vg. ἔθνεσιν οὗ Sept. 6. *nationes*] *gentes* Vg. ἔθνεσιν Sept. *et scient*] *ut sciant* Vg. καὶ γνώσονται Sept. 7. *quod ego sum*] *quia ego* Vg. ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι Sept. Vg. adds *ait dominus exercituum* after *dominus*; this is not in the Septuagint. *dum sanctificor*] *cum sanctificatus fuero* Vg. ἐν τῷ ἁγιασθῆναί με Sept. 7–8. *ante oculos eorum*] *coram eis* Vg. κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν Sept. *et accipiam*] *tollam quippe* Vg. καὶ λήψομαι Sept. 9. *ex omnibus*] *de uniuersis* Vg. ἐκ πασῶν Sept. *inducam*] *adducam* Vg. εἰσάξω Sept. 10. *aspergam*] *effundam* Vg. ῥανῶ Sept. *munda* is of course a mistake for *mundam*. 11. *mundati eretes* (for *eritis*)] *mundabimini* Vg. καθαρισθήσεσθε Sept. *iniquitatibus*] *inquinamentis* Vg. ἀκαθαρσιῶν Sept. 12. *omnibus simulagris* (for *-acris*)] *uniuersis idolis* Vg. πάντων τῶν εἰδώλων Sept. *et*] om. Vg. καὶ Sept. 13 and 15. *dabo in uos*] *ponam in medio uestri* Vg. δώσω ἐν ὑμῖν Sept. 16. *in meis iustitiis*] *in praeceptis meis* Vg. ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασίν μου Sept. 17. *faciates* (for *-tis*)] *operemini* Vg. ποιήσητε Sept. *habitetis*] *habitabitis* Vg. κατοικήσετε (*-σητε* "62. Compl.") Sept. 19. *dixit dominus*] om. Vg. and Sept.

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GODS AND SAINTS OF THE GREAT BRĀHMAṆA

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Prefatory Note.

This paper offers an analysis of the (non-ritualistic) content of the "Great Brāhmaṇa" or Brāhmaṇa of Twenty-five Books. Weber has said very truly that this content is in general "very uninspiring"; but that is only because the work lacks the piquant situations and later spirituality of its great rivals. To the student of religious history it is rather important, since it represents a period earlier than that of the more famous Śatapatha and Āitareya Brāhmaṇas. Its gist also, the idea that the yell, cry, chaunt, is even more vital than the words (if words there be) expressed by the yell, is primitive and instructive. As the Brāhmaṇa has never been translated, it has been practically inaccessible to the general student of religion, for whose benefit this analysis has especially been made, though the needs of the Sanskrit scholar have been met, as far as space permitted, by the admission of illustrative parallels, many of which have not hitherto been noticed.

II.—Gods and Saints of the Great Brāhmaṇa.

Philosophy.

The creator-god, Prajāpati, is philosophically identified with time represented by the year, whence he is called twelve-fold, twenty-four-fold, and (months plus five seasons) seventeen-fold (the cyclic five-year group is recognized, 17. 13. 17).[1] The year itself is "twenty-fifth," as an entity besides the four and twenty half-months, 16. 7. 5 (cf. the "twenty-fifth," as pure spirit, of later philosophy). In a ritual scheme it is natural to find that the creator created with the help of Vedic verses (charms), rites, and chaunts, Sāmans; but creation itself is an "emission," which, though interpreted otherwise was thought of in terms of procreation, except rarely, as when it is said that the creator "was the splitter-up of worlds," *eteṣām lokānām udabhinat*, 16. 16. 2,[2] and even then differentiation rather than creation of matter seems to be meant. He creates in the form of a horse, 11. 3. 5; is talked about as creator (of evil as well as good) and as having had unlawful relations with his daughter, 4. 9. 14; 8. 2. 10;[3] but he also pairs with time-divisions, 5. 9. 2 (cf. TS. 7. 4. 8. 1). After creation he is exhausted, dry, "milked out," and has to be revived by food, *vrata*, and he does not create all at once.[4] He also pairs with the chaunt, 8. 6. 3, etc., but too, he needs only to vomit forth his chief creation, sacrifice, fire, priest, and spring,

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[1] The seasons are five or six. Ref. 2. 10. 5; 4. 5. 6; 6. 2. 2; 9. 8. 15; 10. 12. 8; 12. 4. 8; 13. 2. 6; 16. 4. 12–13; 17. 9. 4; 18. 2. 4; 7. 5; 9. 5, 7, 21; 22. 1. 3; 24. 16. 3, etc. half-months, 4. 10. 5; 6. 3. 3 f.; 14. 1. 11, etc. The year has 360 nights, 9. 3. 5. f. P. creates day and night, 4. 1. 4; and gods, 6. 9. 15.

[2] For the genitive, cf. *devānām udagāyat*, 'was chaunter of gods' (below).

[3] Although *adhyāit* here must be so interpreted, it is not necessarily used in a bad sense. Cf. 17. 1. 13, *putro mātaram adhyeti* "remembers, longs for." Cf. ŚB. 4. 6. 9. 20; ĀB. 3. 33. 1.

[4] 4. 10. 1; 6. 1. 1 and 6; *dugdho riricāno 'manyata,'* 9. 6. 7; *atūmyat*, 10. 2. 1; so 15. 8. 2; 16. 5. 23; etc. PB. 6. 1. 4 (read *ādatta . . . nyamārj*)is cited TS. 7. 1. 1. 2. P. creates by rites, 22. 5. 4; 23. 9. 2; 21. 2; 27. 1; and thus gains bliss, success, etc. 23. 11. 2; 23. 25. 2–3; 24. 4. 2; 9. 2–3; food and cattle, 24. 7. 2; even Savitar's power, 25. 6. 2; 17. 2; he rains. 13. 5. 12 f.

which suffices to prove that each of these is the mouth or chief of its kind, and also explains why a priest has more power in his mouth than in his arms (ib. 6; TS. 7. 1. 1. 4–5 etc.). Other passages emphasise the burning effort and woe of the creator, till his efforts were rewarded by increase and "in time he overlived his woe."[1] He grows "old and feeble-minded" at last, but recovers his strength by means of a sacrifice lasting a thousand years, 25. 17. 3–4 (cf. ŚB. 10. 4. 4. 1). His creation "would not stand for him" or "would not stand for his superiority," and he had to win it back by caresses or food, or, it is said, he weakened them by removing their power and they come back to him of necessity. They feared him as death, for even the gods feared death.[2]

Despite the mesh of ritual, this Creator (= God) is a lofty figure. He sits above the worlds, 11. 10. 12, and sees "in himself the seed of creation," 10. 3. 1–3; a person towering above the other gods, identical with sun and heaven, and hence devoid of sorrow since "there is no sorrow in heaven" (16. 5. 17; 18. 2. 14; 21. 8. 3 and 10. 1. 18 = ŚB. 8. 4. 1. 24, cf. TS. 5. 3. 7. 1). He is "the unexplained," or known only as "universal peace" (7. 8. 3; 18. 6. 8; 9. 8. 13, *sarvasya śāntiḥ*, cf. ŚB. 13. 3. 7. 6), so that he is the essence of music and all the (ten) vital airs, an "inflated bag" of

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[1] 6. 5. 1, from his head as burning woe came the sun; cf. ib. 18 and 7. 5. 1. In 18. 2. 4, the year is identified with sun and heaven. Peculiarly Prajāpati's are the horse and the strong (16. 6. 4) *udumbara* (wood), the "gods 'strength", 6. 4. 1; 18. 2. 11; with the chaunter (6. 5. 18), who is the sacrificer's god, 7. 10. 16, answering to Prajāpati. On the horse, PB. 21. 4. 5, and 11 = ŚB. 13. 3. 4. 5; TS. 5. 4. 11. 12.

[2] 7. 5. 2; 10. 13; 8. 8. 14–17; 14. 5. 13; 15. 5. 35; 20. 3. 1; 21. 2. 1; 22. 12. 1 (cf. TS. 2. 3. 2. 1; the gods feared death and Prajāpati gave them immortality). In ŚB. 2. 2. 4. 1, Prajāpati himself fears death, from fire. The "baldness" of the original creation here ib. 4, is paralleled in several passages of PB. The first creation was "hairless" (without plants and cattle) and rough, 20. 14. 5 (cf. 13. 11. 11, *paśavo vāi loma*), etc. P. at first was "rough"; 24. 13. 2–5 (cf. 5. 8. 1). It is characteristic that the power to bestow the boon of immortality is attained not only by one rite but by three, for which, one after the other, the same claim is made, 22. 12. 1 (nine-night rite); 23. 12. 2–3 (eighteen nights); 24. 19. 2 (one hundred). So he "created men" by quite different rites, 6. 9. 15; 22. 9. 2; 23. 14. 2. Each account of immortality (above) adds that *man's* immortality consists "in growing better to the end of a long life." To "get to the thirteenth (intercalated ?) month" is to "live many years," 23. 2. 3 (so Comm).

life (5. 10. 2–3; 6. 8. 5 and 7).[1] "The worlds are three, but God is one," 16. 16. 4. In less magificent phrase he is described as being "as broad as he is high," 18. 6. 2 (so the worlds are as many sideways as they are upwards, 18. 6. 3).

The modification of the creation-idea to one of the self-sacrifice of the Creator, who "sacrificed himself to the gods," 7. 2. 1–2, is a priestly version of the myth of a dismembered god, the savage pantheism of an earlier age (the gods race for shares in the great offering), which is otherwise expressed at this date in the thought that the Creator is sacrifice (personified with two breasts, etc., 13. 11. 18). But a higher plane is reached in the conception that the creation is a mental act, and that the firstborn son of the Creator is the Word Divine.

This conception appears in several passages, interwoven with ritualistic ideas,[2] more or less crude, but at bottom expressing the great Logos doctrine or philosophy. The bathos of the ritualist cannot wholly conceal this. The Creator desired to be many, to be multiplied. Silent, with the mind he thought, and of that which was in his mind arose the great Sāman (the Bṛhat Sāman). He thought, "Verily I have here conceived; now with the Word let me bring forth." He brought forth the Word (as another Sāman), and after it the great one (the Bṛhat Sāman) which was "as his eldest son" (because first conceived) 7. 6. 1 f. These Sāman forms are tunes or chaunts of great efficacy, which are said to have been born from the Creator in this order in other passages (e. g. TS. 7. 1. 1. 4). At 10. 2. 1, there is another account: "The Creator created his creatures and grew weary. The Word took from him his light. He said, 'Who has taken my light?' 'Thy own Word,' said (the Word). Then he said to the Word, "they shall worship thee as the Light"—and here the priest adds "of metres"; for the metres are holy, divine, and the great Virāj metre, called the Light, is mystically identified with God himself. Again, the Creator is

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[1] He is *virūpa* as the year; but this is not "formless," but variegated, 14. 9. 8; 10. 6. 7; 12. 4. 18, like "food," which the gods call *pṛśni* 12. 10. 24 (*devā arka iti vadanti*, 15. 3. 23; 5. 1–9), fivefold, 5. 2. 7; 12. 1. 9; 14. 7. 7, etc.

[2] Especially prominent in the form that the word is food, 5. 8. 1, or, 11. 10. 19, etc., a rite, and especially a chaunt or metre, as Word and Voice are expressed by the same *vāc* (vox). Of all the metres, the fundamental Anuṣṭubh is particularly identified with *Vāc*, 8. 7. 3; 16. 11. 17; 18. 8. 16. "The Anuṣṭubh is *Vāc* and Viṣṇu is the sacrifice", 9. 6. 10.

represented as creeping through primeval darkness to find the light of the sacrifice. "The Creator verily was alone here. There was not day nor night. He in that blind darkness crept forward. He willed, and so attained to the sacrifice (called Light). Then far and wide it shone for him; for as a wide shining is that sacrifice conceived, and it is called "the Light" because it appeared as a light," 16. 1. 1 (here the '*jyotis*' *ekāha*).

But it is the Word which is peculiarly dear to the priest-philosophers, who personify it as the special means of sacrifice as well as, in the lower sense of speech, the sign of man, 13. 12. 3, and regard it as begotten of the Creator, 7. 6. 3, and as identical with the Father-god as well as with lesser gods, such as Wind (breath, voice, the word, 18. 8. 7) or ocean, illimitable, 7. 7. 9, the base of sacrifice, 11. 5. 28, and the fire-god (of sacrifice), each being one with the year, or time, as Creator, 10. 12. 7. It is invoked as divine speech and tales are told of it, how the Word left the gods, and they hunted and found it in waters, who gave it back on condition that they should not be made impure by impurities. But still the divine Word fled and took refuge in trees. They would not give it up, and the gods cursed them, saying, "May ye be rent with your own arm" (the wooden axe-handle). But the trees divided the Word fourfold, so that now it speaks from the (wooden) drum (cf. 5. 5. 18, "the voice of the trees in the drum"), lute, axle, and bow. The voice of trees is most pleasing, for it was the voice belonging to the gods (tree-oracles?), 6. 5. 10 f.; cf. TS. 6. 1. 4. 1. Another account says the Word on leaving the gods became portionless, but they gave it a portion in the invocation of the priest, who must invoke it as Voice (*bekurānāmā 'si*), saying, "Voice art thou called, pleasant to the gods; reverence be to the Word, reverence to the lord of speech; O divine (speech) Word, put thy sweetness into me," etc. 6. 7. 5 and 6 (for the "summit of the Word is bliss," 6. 9. 12).[1]

[1] Compare 16. 5. 16, *vāg vāi Sarasvatī*; who is "loved, dear, holy", etc. 20. 15. 15. In the last sentence, "summit", *agra*, the "fore-front"; cf. 12. 11. 6, *agraṁ vāco gacchan*. The parallel use of *anta*, in *antaṁ śriyā gacchati*, 22. 18. 8, shows that both *agra* acies) and *anta*(end) were already used in the sense of non plus ultra, the highest, best, chief. This is also the meaning of *anta* when it is said that the Anuṣṭubh is the *anta* of metres, the Bṛhat the *anta* of Sāmans, the prince the *anta* of humans, the horse the *anta* of cattle, Viṣṇu (cf. ŚB. 5. 2. 3. 6 and *viṣṇumukhā devāḥ*, TS. 1. 7. 5. 4; 5. 2. 1. 1), the *anta* of Devatās (19. 12. 8; *yo rājanyānāṁ hīyate na sa punar agram = antam paryeti*; 21. 4. 6).

The most striking of these passages is one that represents the Word as the mediating principle in creation, 20. 14. 2 f.: The Creator verily was alone here. He had as his own, as a second (self), only the Word. He thought to himself, "I will send forth this Word (create with form), and the Word will go and pervade (become as) the world."[1] He sent forth (created in visible form) the Word and it went pervading (as) the world, and extended on high as (in a cloud) a stream of water goes up on all sides. He took (cut) off a third (saying *ă*) and it became the earth; another third (saying *ka*), and it became the interspace (atmosphere); another (saying *ho*) be cast aloft and it became the shining sky. The Word, of one syllable, the Creator thus divided threefold, for the Word is threefold (*tryāvṛt*, 10. 4. 9, in three divisions, three in one) and it became the three worlds (represented by three syllables).[2]

As the scholiast says, it betokens *paramatva*, supremacy (e. g. the horse is the highest as he was born of Prajāpati's eye, and it is said "only cows and horses are cattle," TS. 5. 2. 9. 4). So the proper meaning of Vedānta is not the goal, or conclusion, but the chief (essence) of the Veda.

[1] The scholiast takes this in the later philosophical sense: "go and return to me." but though "coming and going in the form of Vāc," 5. 8. 3, it is not here meant (*eṣyati*, S. *mām eṣyati*). What is meant is that the divine Word pervading all the universe becomes the visible formed earth, air, and sky.

[2] Each part has its god, *gandharva*, fire, wind, and sun being the deities of earth, air, and sky. A passage like this, Kāṭh. 12. 5, makes the (female) Word the consort of the Creator, to bear Creation. In the popular religion the divine Word becomes degraded to a mere Śabalī, or granter of wishes, as a wonder-cow: "Śabalī (the wonder-cow, 21. 1. 5) is the same as the Word". The worshiper performs a rite, freshly clothed, drinking hot milk, lying on the ground, and after twelve nights, toward morning, *upavyuṣam*, makes an offering, before speaking and when he cannot hear the village animals Going apart into the forest he calls three times as he takes holy-grass in hand. "O Śabalī," and he will get his wish if he hears any animal reply (except a dog or an ass). The invocation is: "O Śabalī, Śabalī; thou art the all-embracing ocean. *brahma* of gods, first-born of the holy order, food, seed, glory, immortality, art thou; of thee is earth a part, the atmosphere a part, sky a part, sea a part Such thou art, as such we know thee. Then as such do thou, o wish-cow, milk out for us food, strength, a stream of wealth, a stream of children. May I follow (fulfil) the vow. Hail!" Compare TS. 4. 3. 11. 5. On the word of one syllable, cf. also PB. 4. 3. 3; 21. 5. 4. Three syllables(above) are used in the creation, *akaho*, mystically identified as Sāman calls with the three worlds, and with the *akṣara* "indestructible" principle.

The philosophical ideas of the Upaniṣads are here in embryo; but not so clearly developed as in some of the other works of this character. It is rather to the early date of the Great Brāhmaṇa than to delicacy that the intrusion of the Word into other tales as a sort of secondary divinity is lacking. The ŚB., for example, makes use of Vāc in this way in the account of Viśvāvasu (below), but there is none of it in PB. Of purely philosophical utterances there are not many (few are to be expected), but of this character are the mystic "Mount up from fulness to fulness," 15, 12. 3; cf. 23. 19. 9 (*agrād agram*); "Thought precedes word (speech)," 11. 1. 3 (Ch. Up. 6. 8. 6, etc.) and 6. 4. 7, which says the same thing a little more obscurely ("Mind is the eye of the sea of speech,") for, as said in 11. 1. 3 (and in the dispute between the two in TS. 2. 5. 11. 4–5), "One says with speech only what one first arrives at with mind." Here too is the origin of the later (Ch. 5. 1. 1, etc.) use of "oldest and best"; cf. 21. 2. 4, "he who has this knowledge comes to the oldest and the best." Compare also *na māṁ vāg ativadet*, etc., 5. 3. 7; 12. 13. 15 (the "ten breaths," with *nābhi*, 19. 11. 3, are common in earlier literature). To the mysticism of sacrifice belong the treble triad, as in 7. 7. 8 (present, past, future; self, son, and cattle; earth, air, and sky); that other shibboleth of the day: "What is hidden from men is clear to the gods," 22. 10. 3 (ĀB. 3. 3), etc.; and the frequent numerical analysis, "cattle have sixteen parts," 19. 5. 6; 6. 2 (Praś. Up. 6. 2; Ch. Up. 6. 7. 3, 6).

The Creator is identified with Him-that-stands-in-the-highest, in 19. 13. 3 f., repeated verbatim 22. 18. 4 f., in that each is "absolute power," but only this once. The Creator as "death" has a parallel in the "deadly dawns" of 20. 1. 4. As for man, his age is a hundred years, 5. 6. 13.; 25. 8. 3. Care must be taken to escape disease in heaven, by sacrificing with the Sarvasvāra (S. "contains all Sāmas," *trivṛdagniṣṭoma*); then one has *anāmayatā* (health) in heaven. Men become gods, as gods became gods by sacrifice, 23. 6. 2–3; repetition "even to weariness" brings the great reward of sacrifice (2. 2. 2; 5. 4. 9; 12. 11. 17; 16. 3. 6).[1]

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[1] A few bits of physiological philosophy for comparison with other works. *madhyato vā ātmano* (never soul) *hṛdayam*, 6. 4. 6; *dakṣiṇo vā arddha ātmano* (= *dehasya*) *vīryavattaraḥ*, 5. 1. 13; *dakṣiṇa ūrāv udgātur agniṁ manthanti, dakṣiṇato hi retaḥ sicyate*, 8. 7. 10; 12. 10. 12; *mithunāt prajāyate*, 16. 14. 6 (20. 11. 10; 13. 2; 15. 5, etc.); *anutunnād dhi reto dhīyate*, 12. 10. 11; *dve striyā ūne prajananāya* (*āṇḍalīṅge*), 19. 3. 9; *ānūtiriktaṁ vā anu prajāḥ prajāyante*, 20. 12. 2; embryo, 20. 4. 3 and 7; *tasmāt*

Before the moral teaching of the Brāhmaṇa is discussed, a word may be said of another (priestly) divine form. The "chaplain of the gods," Bṛhaspati, who has special offerings, *anūbandhyā*, for example, 17. 13. 2, takes the place of Indra in releasing demon-bound cattle, but otherwise is unimportant, except that he cures lameness and skin-disease, 21. 14. 16 (of cattle). As chaunter of the gods, when pursued by ogres he flees to the lords of the world, Fire, Wind, and Sun, asking them to guard him from the dangers of earth, air, and sky. Usually Purohita ("chaplain,") 17. 11. 4; 19. 17. 8; 25. 1. 7, he is here chaunter, *devānām udagāyat* (cf. TS. 3. 3. 2. 1) of the gods, 6. 7. 1. In 25. 1. 11, by means of the *udbhid* and *valabhid* (ceremonies) he lets out cattle for the gods. This is more fully described at 19. 7. 1 (*vala* must here be "prison")[1]: "There was verily a prison of the demons, concealed in darkness and covered with a stone. In it was a wealth of cattle. The gods could not pierce it. They said to Bṛhaspati, "Let out these (cattle) for us." He, with the *udbhid* (splitter) caused the prison to open up; with the *valabhid* he split it; with the *utsedha* (chaunt) he let out the cattle; with the *niṣedha* (chaunt) he herded them (cf. 15. 9. 11, *utsedhena vāi devāḥ paśūn udasedhan, niṣedhena paryagṛhṇan*). Brahmaṇaspati is *Brahma* here (as elsewhere), 16. 5. 8 and 18; AB. 2. 38. 9; Cf. ŚB. 4. 5. 1. 11; 9. 2. 3. 3; 12. 8. 3. 29.

Morality.

Despite the fact that the Sāman and the rite make the gist of the Brāhmaṇa's religion, it remains true that there is a real ethical foundation for this religion. Nothing very lofty is to be expected. Witchcraft, magic, gratification of passion, rites to insure one's superiority over friends (mildly expressed as "become the light of his people," 21. 12. 6) as well as foes, to make one "get ahead of his own people," to enable one to kill a rival, to get "revenge"

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parāñco garbhāḥ sambhavanti, pratyañcaḥ prajāyante, tasmād u te 'vācīna-vilebhyo nā' vapadyanta, etena (samnā) hy eva dhṛtāḥ, 15. 5. 16; cf. 22. 9. 4. This does not quite agree with 6. 8. 9, *parāñcaḥ* (men) *prajāyante*; but cf. 7. 2. 6, *parāñcaḥ prājyante pratyañcaḥ prajāyante* (cattle). Compare TS. 2. 5. 7. 3. *prācīnaṁ reto dhīyate . . prātīcīḥ prajāḥ jāyante* (also 5. 2. 10. 2); On the breeding of cattle, cf 24. 11. 2 (5, ass and mare, cf. 6. 1. 4). On *ātman*, cf. *trivṛt śiraḥ . . pāṅkta itara ātmā* (head has hair, skin, bone; body, also flesh and marrow), 5. 1. 3–4; TB. 1. 5. 9. 7; on man as *vāirāja* with ten "breaths," see 2. 7. 8; 14. 2.

[1] So too Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* 3. 264. with parallels. S. understands Vala as demon!

(19. 8. 1 and 9. 1 f; 10. 11, etc.), to "cast off sin as Arbuda the snake casts his skin" (4. 9. 5; 9. 8. 8), are to be found.[1] But untruth is reproved; the "hant" pursues the slayer, and if one "takes (too) much," he is a "swallower of poison," as is one who eats what he ought not. Gāuṣūkti and Aśvasūkti are especially mentioned as having "taken much" and they "regarded themselves as poison-swallowers," so that they had to discover the Gāuṣūkta and Āśvasūkta Sāmans as expiation, 19. 4. 10; cf. ib. 2, the Punaḥstoma rite, for him who should "regard himself as a poison-swallower," *yo manyeta garagīr iva.* JUB. 4. 16. 1, mentions this Gāuṣūkti as the third diadochos after Indra and as the tenth from the author or his time, the later seers in this list being unknown to the Brāhmaṇa, which would imply an interval of three centuries between the compositions, a not unreasonable assumption and one which is indicated by the fact that the morality of the Upaniṣad is higher than that of the Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa in many ways reflects the earlier period of thought, religiously and ethically.[2]

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[1] Snakes are Ādityas and the earth is "queen of snakes," so that the worship of snakes, though practised, is more or less mystic. Compare the list in 25. 15. 1–4; 4. 9. 6 = ŚB. 4. 6. 9. 17; 9. 8. 7; and ĀB. 6. 1; ŚB. 2 5. 2. 47; 13. 4. 3. 9 (snakes as the people of Arbuda Kādraveya).

[2] The sociological conditions are also early. The "eight men who control the state," 19. 1. 4. are a shorter list than the corresponding lists at TS. 1. 8. 9 and ŚB. 5. 3. 1. The eight are the king's son and brother and chaplain and queen; the master of horse (also serving as a chronicler); the headman of the village; the chamberlain; and the "controller." The last is explained as either treasurer or charioteer (by different scholiasts), but since "the chaplain in old days was charioteer" (we are expressly told so in the old story of Vṛśa Jāna, where a chaplain-charioteer speeded and ran over a boy, 13. 3. 12; JB. 3. 94), the treasurer is probably meant by "controller." The Upaniṣad moreover, has an arithmetical series which is somewhat later than that of the Brāhmaṇa. As the latter indicates rewards expected by the priest, it may be given here: (a decimal series, to begin at) thousand, ten thousands; one hundred thousands, *prayuta*; million, *niyuta*; ten millions, *arbuda*; one hundred millions, *nyarbuda*; thousand millions, *nikharvaka* (sic); ten thousand millions, *badva*; one hundred thousand millions, *akṣita*; and ten hundred thousand millions *go* (*gāus*) [?]. In JUB. 1. 10, 28. 29, the regular *nikharva* takes the place of *nikharvaka*; *padma* stands for *badva*; and the last two numbers are given as *akṣitir vyomāntaḥ* (where perhaps should be read *gomān* or *anta*, as in TS. 7. 2. 20. 1; VS 17. 2?) Here *badva* is the form of ĀB. 8. 22, and *padma* is a later equivalent. Compare *Ind. Streifen*, 1. 96, where other lists of Brāhmaṇa numerals are given.

Thus "sins caused by the gods" is an early Vedic interpretation found in the Brāhmaṇa, where it is said that the rite removes "sins made by the gods, by the Fathers, by (other) men, and by ourselves," that is the later "sin," *enas*, is here merely an "ill," *pāpam*, caused by men or gods (as demons), to punish neglect, *aparādha*, on the part of the worshiper, as quite correctly explained by the commentator, not "sins against gods," 1. 6. 10. Cf. VS. 8. 13; ŚB. 4. 4. 5. 22.

Of what sort were the "gods that were before the gods," is not known, only their blessed names, Sādhyas. 25. 8. 2, and the fact that they (like the demons!) had fewer ceremonies, being content to leave out the evening libation, 8. 3. 6 and 4. 9 (in 8. 4. 1, they go to heaven with all the sacrifice), but they had to perform sacrifices, as did the later gods and men.[1] And by sacrifice, in proportion to the gifts made to the priests, whereof the arithmetical series given in the text is an exploitation (see note above), man's morality is improved, "he becomes better," and his hope of heaven is made more certain. Yet even here, though one may give gold ("immortality," 9. 9. 3 f.), and cows enough, 17. 14. 2, etc., it is intimated that a man must not give too much nor accept too much, which is far and away a nobler standard than that of the later priests,[2] who never say, "Ill does he who gives all" (to the priest), 16. 5. 6; 6. 1; 9. 2.

One of the indications of the date of this Brāhmaṇa was long ago noticed by Weber, who called attention to the free intercourse

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[1] Cf. TS. 6. 2. 5. 3–4, *trivrato Manur āsīd, dvi-vratā asurā, ekavratā devāḥ*, etc.

[2] The heaven man goes to is far away, but not too far. The Fathers only live in the third world, heaven, 9. 8. 5; they are "soma-drops" (referring to a Vedic verse), 6. 9. 19. When the rite is good it glorifies a man's son, when very good his son's son, 15. 10. 6; 12. 2. The distance to heaven is probably calculated from the middle of the earth, that is a span's distance north of the source of the Sarasvatī river, to the middle of the sky, which is the Seven Seers (Great Bear), JUB. 4. 26. 12, and this distance corresponds exactly to the distance from the same source of the Sarasvatī to where it loses itself in the desert, which is a journey on horse-back of forty-four days, 25. 10. 16; or, according to another estimate, from earth to heaven is as much as one thousand cows standing on top of each other (therefore a thousand cows make a good fee for the priests), 16. 8. 6; but a third estimate says that the distance is equal to a thousand days' journey by horse, or the sun's journey of a thousand days, or it is just a thousand leagues, 21. 1. 9 (ĀB. 2. 17. 8).

with the original settlers, 16. 6. 7, and to the host of still unbrahmanized "outlaws," vagrants, who wander about in a sort of gypsy wagon covered with boards. They have their own cult, are satisfied with their own jargon, scorn the priests and injure those who should be inviolate. Though they have a sacrificer, Dyutāna Māruta, they are really "poison-eaters," thieves, takers of priests' food. They wear blackish clothes with red borders and corded edges, goat-skins, silver ornaments, turbans (but so, 16. 6. 13, do the Brahmanized people, as also sandals) and carry *jyāhroḍa* (said to be "bows without arrows"), 17. 1. 1 f.; IS. 1. 33. Finally, it may be noticed that nothing indicates a city life in the Brāhmaṇa; the *grāma* is a village "crowd" (*grāma* is a host, as when men are said to be the *grāma* of gods; even of cattle, as when one desires a *grāma*, not a village but a flock of cattle), 6. 9. 2; 17. 10. 2, etc. The *pur* is only a fort, such as the border tribes have now, to retreat to in case of invasion. There is only a petty *rāj* and his kingdom or chiefdom of villages. Although the absence of allusions to city life cannot be pressed too far in a work of this kind, yet the five and twenty books of the Great Brāhmaṇa have references enough to manners and customs to make it improbable that had city life been known it would not have been referred to. It is no more a city life than that is that of the Rig Veda, where a real city is unknown, and the village (called "crowd" or otherwise) is really the only massed population. Life, however, was sufficiently complex for doubt to arise in regard to the formal purity of initiates, and in this Brāhmaṇa special provision is made for those who are open to suspicion "in regard to couch, water (consecration), or marriage," 23. 4. 2.[1]

Of didactic morality there is little (it is not in place here), but we do find a few interesting statements. Thus in 18. 1. 24, as in

[1] *yāñs talpe vo 'dake vā vivāhe vā mimāñserans ta etā (rātrīr) upeyuḥ.* Compare TS. 6. 2. 6. 4, *yam pūtre vā talpe vā mīmāñseran (vyāvṛtte devayajane yājayet).* Above a fourteen-night observance is enjoined. The caste-question has been so fully discussed that it will be necessary only to refer to the vital facts that the slave "has no god and no sacrifice," 6. 1. 11, and the agriculturist is born "to be devoured by priest and king," 6. 1. 10 (IS. 10. 8). One rite is for a king "to keep the people from getting away from him," 6. 10. 11. The priests are opposed to burdens (taxes), and, if taxes are imposed, have no fear in cursing the king, which is their weapon against him, *bharatām pratidaṇḍā brāhmaṇāḥ*, 18. 10. 8. To make the kingly and agricultural castes "subservient to the priest" is the priest's object, 11. 11. 8 = 15. 6. 3; cf. 2. 16. 4.

ŚB. 4. 4. 5. 23, it is expressly said that "there is no sin in a newborn child," *nāi' no bhavati*, which may exclude the Karma doctrine (ascent to heaven "with a body" is admitted, 21. 4. 3). When it is said that the grief of heaven enters a sinner, rather an elaborate explanation is necessary. It appears that originally "The three worlds were united.[1] They grieved (to part? see note); but Indra, by means of the Trāiśoka Sāman, removed their grief, and therefore is it called Trāiśoka, because he removed the grief, *śoka*, of these three (worlds). The grief which the god removed from this earth entered into the harlot; the grief which he removed from the (neuter) atmosphere entered into the eunuch;[2] and the grief which he removed from yonder heaven entered into the man possessing sin (evil). Hence their desire is unattainable, and should one of them get his desire he gets a share of grief as well," 8. 1. 9–11.

To turn to one of the few moral points discussed in the Great Brāhmaṇa, the question of "tainted money," as it is called now, received a very modern solution. As already explained, if a man has "taken much" he is recognized as sinful, but the venial sin may be removed at the expense of a one-day rite; for even the most

[1] This clumsy theological explanation of the "treble sorrow" is based on the more natural folk-lore of the undivided heaven and earth, as it appears in Polynesia, Greece, etc. It is found in this form at 7. 10. 1. 2, 10, 13 (cf. 11. 4. 11. *brahma vāi nāudhasam*), in connection with another bit of later wisdom: "These two worlds verily were together. They, on separating, said, 'Let us wed; let us possess in common.' Earth gave heaven the Śyaita and heaven gave earth the Nāudhasa" (Sāmans). The former is so called because Prajāpati quieted cattle with it, making them return to him (so the priest becomes the Fathergod when he says *hṁ* with the Śyāita, as P. caressed his creatures, saying *huṁ mā* with the Śyāita, 7. 10 13–15); the latter, because, when the gods were apportioning the Veda among themselves, Nodhas Kakṣīvata approached and "A seer has come among us," they said: "let us give him some Veda (brahma)." So they offered him this Sāman, which is therefore called Nāudhasa, "and it really is (genuine) Veda." On the atmosphere as *vi̇yat*, "separate," personified as having dugs, see 24. 1. 6–7, and cf. ŚB. 7. 1. 2. 23.

[2] For the atmosphere "is, as it were, no thing." TS. 5. 4. 6. 4; "the atmosphere is, as it were, a hole between this and that world." PB. 21. 7. 3. It is the "weakest world," 7. 3. 18. It is also grammatically neuter. On the three worlds (threefold, pun at 6. 2. 3, *punarnava*) and their metrical equivalents, cf. 7. 3. 9: 7. 8; 12. 4. 13; 15. 10. 9; 16. 16. 4; 19. 10. 9; 23. 18. 4, etc.

heinous sins may be removed by great sacrifices (*brahmahatyā*, for example), so that it is scarcely an infringement on the moral perception when it is admitted (or rather triumphantly proclaimed) that, by the recitation of a verse of the Rig Veda, 9. 58. 3, goods received from a person from whom goods ought not to be received may be converted into goods acceptable and stainless to the recipient.[1]

Transfer of sin is an accepted doctrine. One takes upon himself the sin (fault) of the sacrifice, if one blames it, 5. 5. 13; if one tells the faults of those initiated one gets a third of their sin (another third goes to the eater of the food, and another to the ants), 5. 6. 10.

One rather curious view is also to be noticed. It is assumed that the gods will take the same attitude toward a suspected person that men take, or, as is said in the TS. (just as an inauspicious voice follows a murderer), so "an unholy voice," *apūtā vāc*, seizes him who is accused, though he has not really killed (TS. 2. 1. 10. 2). Hence "the divinities avoid the man whom people falsely accuse," 18. 1. 10–12; but, it is shrewdly added, if he pays for a sacrifice, the priest will make his food acceptable to the gods, and even men may eat of it, when he or the food has thus been purified. Compare 2. 17. 4, "impurity gets hold of him whom the 'inauspicious voice' gets hold of." Those who falsely accuse are the real sinners, 6. 10. 7 (explaining *aravāṇaḥ* in RV. 9. 61. 25). Untruth, it is said in another place, 8. 6. 13, is a "hole in the voice," which may be filled (discounted) by the sacrificer adding a syllable to a verse! Wealth is a sure protection against sin if rightly employed in sacrifice. "Even a sinner by means of wealth (i. e. gifts of cattle)

[1] This is the celebrated case of Taranta and Purumīḍha, following whose example one may convert received goods into "not received," or, in other words, enjoy the goods, but not as "accepted" from a person who is revolting to the delicate feelings of the recipient, 13. 7. 12–13. Compare the principle at 12. 3. 13; 6. 6. By the Sāman one destroys sin, kills ogres, and rivals, becomes better; and if a pure man becomes worse he may make abound in himself all power, vigor, and manliness through the Sāman, 11. 5. 11, etc. The words used above of Gāuṣūkti and Aśvasūkti are applied to Taranta and Purumīḍha in JB. 3. 139; cf. Śāṭ. B., *bahu pratigṛhya garagirāv (iva menate)*, Oertel, JAOS. 18. 39. One may even get back a realm, as in the case of the deposed (Rājanyarṣi!) royal seer Sindhukṣit, 12. 12. 6. Cf. the same phrase, 15. 3. 25, in the history of Dīrghaśravas, Rājanya-ṛṣi; and of Vītahavya Śrāyasa, 9. 1. 9 (15. 16. 3), not "became enlightened" (Sāyaṇa).

gets to the top," and cattle are mystically identified with Ukthas, recited verses, 17. 2. 2 and 4.

If the rite is here magical,[1] it is still more accompanied by all the signs of barbarous magic where the universal calamities, such as death or an eclipse, call forth the same paraphernalia as that found among savages. In the death rite, the mourners go round (the *mārjālīya* mound of purification near the altar), striking the left thigh with the (left) hand, three times, 9. 8. 9. In the eclipse-rite (when the gods fear that the sun will fall or get lost) the rite of the twenty-one nights (the sun is "the twenty-first," see below) is ordained: for by this rite (or by some other rite) the gods, or a seer of old, removed darkness from the sun, 4. 5. 2; 4. 6. 13; 23. 16. 2. But this really reverts to the simplest form of all for the driving away of the eclipse-demon. This is recorded in 4. 5. 2, where it is said, "The demon Svarbhānu wounded the sun with darkness, but the gods won the sun back by making noises" (*svarās*). The Brāhmaṇa, however, elsewhere records the view (which, though Vedic, is really more advanced) that Atri, the seer, was sought out by the gods to help them, and that it was owing solely to his incantation that the eclipse-demon was at last driven away. According to 6. 6. 8, Atri by a "lightening," *bhāsena*, drove off the darkness, which disappeared as a succession of sheep, colored in due order, "black, silvery, reddish, and clear" (cf. 11, *ātreyaṁ candreṇe 'cchanty, Atrir hi tasya jyotiḥ*, an allusion to "Atri's gold" as the fee to the priest). This story without the "sheep" is repeated to the credit of Atri at 14. 11. 14, and it is only here that the scholiast interprets *bhāsa* as a Sāman. The other passages say nothing of Atri's help. TS., as in PB. 23. 16. 2, says that the gods "sought an expiation" for the sun, and then gives the sheep as above, only, instead of *kṛṣṇā, rajata, lohinī, śukla*, it has *kṛṣṇā, phalgunī, balakṣī*, but also without Atri's help. JB. 1. 81, has *kṛṣṇa, dhūmrā, phalgunī* (JAOS. 26. 191).[2]

[1] Magical also is the shaving off of the hair of the head, "to destroy a man's evil," so that "being lighter," he can get to heaven more easily, 4. 9. 22. Compare TS. 7. 4. 9. 1.

[2] In the Ch. Up. 1. 6. 5, *kṛṣṇam bhās* is the Sāman, *śuklam bhās* the Rc. As the "sheep" are in TS., there must have been an old error that converted *āvīr abhavat* to *avīr abhavat*. Compare *kṛṣṇāvīr abhavat*, 6. 6. 8; same in TS. and JB., though the following TS. shows that *avī* was then understood. There is only *bhāsa*, no sheep, in PB. 14. 11. 14. In ŚB. 4. 3. 4. 21, there are no sheep, though Atri is mentioned; in 5. 3. 2. 2, all the glory belongs to the gods (Soma and Rudra, also no sheep). In ĀB. 4. 19. 3, TB. 1. 2. 4. 3, etc., *bhāsa* may be due to PB.

The sympathetic rite for increase, pouring out water that increase may follow, is found here as in other Brāhmaṇas. Besides the rational view that water produces plants and plenty, 13. 9. 16, *āpo hi śāntiḥ*, 8. 7. 8, there is the view "seed is water," and so, to strengthen seed, water is poured out upon the right thigh. Since seed is *three*fold (having vigor, virility, and virtue), the priest must count the women *three* times, and the wife of the sacrificer must have the water poured over her thigh, uncovering it "quite far" (other Brāh. say "wholly"), since this (symbolism) is a "cause of progeny," 8. 7. 8–13 (originally water had "essence of milk," *kṣīrarasā apaḥ*, 13. 4. 8). Compare TS. 6. 5. 8. 6; ĀB. 1. 3. 3; ŚB. 4. 4. 2. 18.

The part of the Fire-god is so purely conventional, that nothing need be said of him except as a moral factor. As elsewhere, he heads the gods, 25. 14. 4, leads them to battle as a horse, 8. 8. 4 (11. 11. 6; cf. ĀB. 3. 49. 7); is all divinities, 9. 4. 5; 18. 1. 18, is, in particular, Rudra, who causes cattle to be lost and found, 12. 4. 24 f. (cf. TS. 2. 2. 10. 4: 5. 4. 3. 1; and 3. 5. 4. 3); a slayer, *ghātuka*, 21. 2. 9 (active adj.), feverish (*rūra, rāurava* Sāman, 7. 5. 10) or "roarer", as also in 14. 3. 19, where he becomes "food-eater" and then roared, *agardayat, agāṅgūyat* (*gāuṅgava*, one of the howling chaunts); a practiser of *tapas*, ib. and 14. 11. 37, where also he is "guest of every clan." He could not at first blaze up, 13. 3. 22; he is built up in figures, *e. g.* as the "tail" of the fire-laud, 20. 16. 3 (ŚB. 5. 2. 3. 6, he in the lowest part, Viṣṇu the upper part, *parārdhya*, of sacrifice). His first body dissolved and became unguents (*gāuggula, pītudāru*, etc.), 24. 13. 2 f. (TS. 6. 2. 8. 6; ŚB. 3. 5. 2. 15.) He is the one fire, just as men say "there is but one sacrifice," 16. 1. 3 f. He eats all things, and those who worship him with the rite of a thousand nights may also eat anything, *sarvam esām ādyam*, through which rite he won the impelling power (cf. 24. 15. 2) of Savitar (as is said, 25. 17. 2, of Prajāpati), 25. 9. 2 f. That he is (burns) "best in the middle" is proclaimed at 19. 10. 3 and 11. 9. But above all he is purificatory. Not only is there an "ordeal by fire" (see below), but even he who praises the Fire-god is said to enter fire, and the god destroys his impurity, *apūtam kṣāpayati*, 17. 5. 3–7; 16. 5. 10. When Agni "went burning the worlds," the gods were afraid of him and averted him with a branch of the Varaṇa tree and so saved themselves, which is the reason for the name of the Vāravantīya Sāman and for the medicinal use of the (magical) Varaṇa tree. That too is the reason why a priest should not only not drink from a cup made of pottery (as "his mouth is

an oblation" cf. TS. 2. 5. 4. 3), 16. 6. 14, but should also avoid to use a cup of Varaṇa wood, as he might quench the god, 5. 3. 9–12. On the identity with Rudra, compare the account of gods dividing up cattle and passing over Rudra, who is a slayer of cattle, *ghātuka*, 7. 9. 18. In case Rudra kills cattle, a cake is offered to Agni Rūdravat, 21. 14. 13 (TS. 2. 2. 2. 3). In 6. 9. 7–9, Mahādeva kills cattle. Probably he is "that god," who in 14. 9. 12 is called the Hunter, *mṛgayu*, and is said to have obtained "overlordship of both (kinds of) cattle" (PW. only as name of Brahman). The same expression is used of Pṛthī Vāinya,[1] 13. 5. 20. The "three lights" are Fire, Sun, and Moon, 12. 13. 32 (VS. 8. 36). Compare TS. 6. 2. 3. 1; 3. 9. 3; TB. 1. 1. 8. 4; 4. 3. 6.

Lesser Gods and Demons.

The relation between the Creator and the other gods is that of a father, who helps them in all difficulties. More interesting is the relation between the gods and demons. The chief difference between these is that the demons represent darkness and the gods light, the demons evil, the gods good. But there is some historical feeling in the statement that the gods were "younger brothers of the demons" (both being "children of the Creator," historically a damaging addition!) and that the demons were stronger, did sometimes prevail, and would often have prevailed, had it not been for the help of the Father-god; *e. g.* 8, 3. 1, P. helps gods to drive out the demons, as they struggle for the worlds, by the Kāleya ('driver.') It is to be noticed that the interpretation of the gods as younger brothers of the demons, though a favorite opening of the ŚB., is apparently new to the PB., as it is mentioned only in 18. 1. 2: "Gods and demons were both sons of the Father-god. The demons were greater and stronger; the gods were littler (younger); the gods took refuge with the Father-god (who saved them by discovering the *upahavya* rite and, lest the demons should spoil the sacrifice, by performing it "unexplained.") It is nowhere said that the demons (like the gods) were presented with immortality by the Creator. The means employed by the gods to defeat the demons is, of course, a metre or rite. "The gods could not overcome the night into which the demons had gone, till they used the Anuṣṭubh and Virāj ("light") and thus discovered them hiding in darkness,"

[1] Vayu has the overlordship of "forest cattle," 23. 13. 2.

9. 1. 9. The gods (of light) revive the wasting day, 14. 9. 10 and 26 (by different Sāmans). Some of the ritual is wrested from the demons (borrowed from aborigines?), 8. 3. 3 (*vidadvasu*, RV. 8. 66. 1); from whom they also get cattle (according to the extraordinary interpretation of 8. 4. 6, the "sweetest," RV. 9. 1. 1!) The two parties are not always "foes at sight." They decide their relative position at times by a bargain. In 13. 6. 7, for example, they "make a compact" that all the cattle of both parties should fall to those who got the "victory," and by the so-called "victory" (Sāman) the gods won! A very exciting contest took place on one occasion, a duel of wits to determine what could not be determined by force (21. 13. 2 f.). "The gods and demons contended together, but neither side won. They said, 'Let us win by matching (mating) words. Whichever of us two fail to find the mate of a word, shall be beaten'. (All agreed and) the gods said *ekas* (unus), but the demons matched it by saying *eka* (una). The gods said *dvāu* (masc.), but the demons matched it by saying *dve* (fem.). The gods said *trayas*, but the demons matched it by saying *tisras*. The gods said *catvāras*, but the demons matched it by saying *catasras* (fem., the last numeral to be so distinguished). The gods said *pañca*. The demons found no match. Thereupon the gods won; the demons lost."[1] Compare ŚB. 1. 5. 4. 6 f.

[1] The purpose of this tale is to illustrate the inherent importance of a rite of five nights, apropos of which the text says that both man and cattle are fivefold (a commonplace, but not always explained in the same way: here S. "man is fivefold in having feet, hands, and body," instead of "hair, skin, flesh, bone, marrow.") The rite, it is said (cf. ŚB. 1. 9. 3. 19), is "not a one-horse affair" (that is, it is capable, in having two lauds as steeds, more literally "not a one-bullock cart.") for (as the proverb says) "With a double team one gets where one will," 21. 13. 8. This proverb appears again not of the *asthuri* but of the "wheeler" at 16. 15. 4; and again at 23. 3. 8, of the winged bird (figure of rite), *yatra yatra hi pakṣī kāmayate tad tad abhyaśnute* (in this form also at 24. 3. 3; 25. 3. 4). At 25. 1. 6, the *cakrīvatu* form has *tad tad* for *tad*, and at 20. 13. 2. *yatra yatra . . tad tad*. The contrasting *sthūri* is found at 18. 9. 17. *sthūri yavācitam* (TB 1. 8. 2. 4, *acchāvākasya*), and it is contrasted at 16. 13. 12, as a one-horse team going one *krośa*, with the *dvyoga*, *praṣṭivāhin*, and *caturvāhin* teams, with two, three, and four horses respectively, going a *krośa* farther apiece (on fastenings, 16. 1. 13: carrying ib. 10. 8; chaunt at wheel, 18. 7. 12–13: sound of car fastened "spoke by spoke" follows *devaratha rathantara*, 7. 8. 8–9 (*aṅkāu* and rein-holders, 1. 7. 5–8 = TS. 1. 7. 7. 2: TB. 1. 3. 5. 4).

In the ordinary account of the gods' strife with the demons there is a monotony of phrase and idea, which renders a detailed description unnecessary.[1] They contended for the sun, 5. 5. 15; won worlds by *sapha* (= *sam-āp*) 11. 5. 5 and 15. 11. 5; gods and seers by different means got to heaven, 8. 5. 7; the gods got, *aś*, all by the *aṣ-ṭaratra* (eight-night rite). 22. 11. 6; won worlds from demons by the cow-laud, 20. 6. 1, also by *abhijit*, 20. 8. 1; 22. 8. 4. The gods overthrew the citadels of the demons who pursued the wasting day of sacrifice, 12. 3. 14. At one time the gods were beaten by the demons and took refuge with the Creator. He offered them the god-citadel, *deva-pur*, and they secured safety by entering it. One who is pursued (bewitched) by another should sacrifice with the rite called *devapur*. Then one gets to the god-citadel and is not conquered, (read *astṛtyāi*), 22. 17. 2 (cf. *abhicaraṇīya*, 8. 1. 1). Cf. TS. 7. 2. 5. 4; TB. 1. 7. 7. 5; and "Indra's house of refuge" (below). The gods on arriving in heaven "were afraid of (their own) ignorance" but dissipated it by a Sāman called "well-known," 5. 7. 11. They performed a rite, wishing, "may we sit in heaven" before they could get there. 23. 19. 2 (cf. the *talpyās*, who share the gods' couch, 23. 4. 5; 25. 1. 10).

One tale, brief but vital, breaks the monotony of these narrations. Once, as the gods and demons struggled together, the gods that fell failed to rise again, though the demons came to life; but by means of a Sāman (luckily) called "not hurt" they discovered how to come to life again, as the Sāman carries with it the implication "may we not be hurt," 12. 5. 23. It is, however, said here that the gods discovered the Sāman only by practising austerity, so

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[1] The same is true of what the gods won by this or that rite, as "one world after another," 10. 12. 3, by *nidhanas*, though here too immortality is won by the *īnidhana*. Other cases are 2. 6. 2, won heaven by *viṣṭuti*; 3. 2. 2, idem; 4. 2. 2, heaven by *prāyaṇīya*; 8. 3. 6, Sādhyas won heaven by midday, pressing (ib. 4. 1. and fetching Soma, below); world by *satobṛhatī*. 16. 11. 9; 12. 7; 14. 4; *bṛhat*, 18. 2. 8; midday, 19. 11. 6; *paṅkā*, 21. 8. 2 and 6; *pra* and *udvat*, 14. 3. 24 and 9. 40; *saṁvat*, 15. 3. 36; earth, air, heaven, by butter, cows, soma, 17. 13. 18. Originally the range of the gods' metres was only from one to seven syllables; that of the demons from nine to fifteen; for then the gods (meaning their metres) were littler and the demons greater. But the Creator, in Anuṣṭubh form, took the side of the gods, so they got syllables from the demons and conquered. 12. 13. 27 f. Cf. "littler" metres. TS. 6. 6. 11. 5; IS. 8. 74 f.

the "austerity-practising gods" *tapaścito devāḥ*, 25. 5. 2–3, scarcely deserve to be reckoned as a special "class of gods" (PW.).[1]

The battle of the forces of light and darkness is never ended; for when the gods conquer they still find the demons in possession and have to begin again, but this is partly because, when the gods have driven the demons out of earth, air, and sky, successively, the gods themselves "yearn again for earth," 9. 2. 9–11. They find Bliss only after four days, almost an insulted (*pratyupoditā*) goddess, 19. 7. 2. Curiously enough, though the act of slaying the demons is virtuous, evil always follows the slayer. This comes out most clearly in the stories of Indra (below), but once it may affect all the gods: "The Rakṣasas (demons or ogres, like the usual Asuras) desired to destroy the sacrifice of the gods. Indra overthrew them so that they rolled together (*saṁvartam upāvapat*, which gives the name to the Sāman called Sāṁvarta). Evil pursued them (or him, *pāpmā vāva sa tān asacata*, or v. l., *tam agṛhṇāt*, both are stereotyped forms; see below). By means of the Sāṁvarta (Sāman) they removed that evil. One who praises with the Sāṁvarta Sāman removes evil (sin)," 14. 12. 7. It is perhaps chance historical insight as well as fancy which says "verily all the sacrifice was (originally) among the demons," nor is it wholly unhistorical when the chaunt is regarded as the "womb from which Prajāpati created sacrifice," 8. 6. 3–5 (compare *yoner yajñam pratanavāmahā iti*, ib. 4.).

The success of the gods depends on their use of metres to a great extent, but the metres are not all of the same potency. Not by the eight, eleven, or twelve syllable metres (Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh, and Jagatī) did the gods get to heaven, and "not quite" by the Anuṣṭubh. But they took the essence of the four directions and added this (as four syllables) to the 4×8 syllables of the Anuṣṭubh, and with this Mighty (Bṛhatī) metre at last they got to heaven, 7. 4. 2. The gods conquered for themselves the Fire-laud, but they could not win the Ukthas (recited utterances) till Agni, the fire-god, led them, 8. 8. 1. Characteristic is his refusal to do so till he knows what he is to get for his services. "What am I to get out of this?" he

[1] On the other hand the Viśvasṛjas are really treated as a division of the gods, found here, 25. 18. 2 f., as in TB. 3. 12. 9. 7 ("śloka." *viśvasṛjaḥ prathame satram āsata . . . hiraṇmayaḥ śakuno brahmanāma*); cf. 25. 4. 5. Apropos of the bird-form of *brahma* (the *śyena* is "swiftest of birds." 13. 10. 14: JB. 3. 158), the sacrificer himself "flies to heaven like a great bird." *śakuna iva vayo bhūtvā*, 5. 3. 5 (a common ghost-form); cf. "a bird of light," 19. 10. 3; 11. 8; rite as bird, 14. 3. 10: 5. 1. 12, *patīyaḥ patati*; 22. 5. 2; 23. 3. 7: 24. 3. 3; ŚB. 6. 7. 2. 6.

asked. "What you will," replied the desperate gods. He claimed then the right to have these utterances recited in his name, *maddevatyāsu*. With Agni as a horse at their head the gods advanced against the foe. Then Indra said "Who and I (with me) will follow this up? "I and" (you), said Varuṇa (to act as aid: hence, as both helped, the laud is theirs, cf. 11. 11. 5–6). At last Indra's bolt was cast at the dragon Vṛtra with the Bṛhat the glory of which became another chaunt (cf. the "division of Veda" and the power left over as material for new chaunts in 7. 10. 10; 8. 6. 1; 9. 6; 9. 2. 3; 12. 9. 21). Except for fighting, the gods as a body only divided cows and the Word (as metres) and "apportioned (*vyabhajanta, vyakurvata*) the Veda," 8. 6. 1; 9. 2. 3.[1]

Although the godViṣṇu is duly recognized, he is not really prominent. He is a *deva*, invoked with other gods, 21. 10. 13, as "head of the sacrifice," 1. 1. 8 (cf. 1. 6. 5; 12. 13. 22); he is the *anta* of divinities, 21. 4. 6; supports Indra, 8. 8. 7, and is identified with sacrifice, 9. 6. 10 and 9. 7. 5 (*vīryaṁ vā indro yajño viṣṇuḥ*) = 9. 7. 8 and 10. (*yajño vāi viṣṇuḥ śipiviṣṭo yajña eva viṣṇau pratitiṣṭhati*; *śipiviṣṭa* as the Creator's cattle-form, 18. 6. 25–26). He, as sacrifice, "sets to rights," 13. 5. 5. Prajāpati, 20. 3. 2, gets back his cattle by appealing to Viṣṇu (*imāṁ ma īpsa*), who "stepped forth," after P. had vainly tried to get them back with the help of Agni, Indra, and the All-gods. As in ŚB. 14. 1. 1. 9 f. (cf. (?) TS. *makhasya śiro 'si*, 1. 1. 8. 1.), Viṣṇu answers to Makha in TS. 5. 1. 6. 3, "M. is sacrifice." Compare the scene where the gods get the power of Makha at (PB.) 7. 5. 6–16: "Desiring glory, the gods held a sacrificial session, Agni, Indra, Vāyu, Makha. They agreed to share whatever glory

[1] The metres are divided as usual. Gāyatrī to Agni and the other Vasus at the morning pressing (on caste metres, cf. 6. 1. 11); the Triṣṭubh at midday to Indra and his Maruts; the Jagatī at eve to All-gods and Ādityas. The famous Virāj, identified with man (cf. TS. 5. 6. 10. 3) as tenfold, 2. 7. 8; 19. 4. 5. is of ten syllables, 6. 8. 2; 12. 10. 8; 13. 7. 8; 15. 1. 5; 11. 13; 23. 3. 3; of thirty syllables, 10. 3. 12; 23. 26. 2; and, as *paramā*, is of a thousand syllables, 25. 9. 4 (cf. the *paṅkti Virāj*, and group of forty, 24. 10. 2); identified with food, 8. 10. 8; 12. 10. 8; 13. 18; 13. 7. 8; 16. 9. 5 (cf. 12. 11. 22). To it belong the *viṣṭambhās*, 12. 10. 10; it is the light of metres, 6. 3. 6; and is personified, *stanavatī*, as a milch-cow, giving wishes, 20. 1. 5 (13. 11. 18, of Prajāpati); with Prajāpati is connected the Vairāja Sāman, 16. 5. 17. Deficient metres are said to belong to the Maruts, 17. 1. 3; three-syllable refrains (intercalated) are Viṣṇu's metre, 12. 13. 21 (see IS. 8 76). "Metres are powers with which one overpowers others," 9. 4. 7. For metres fetching Soma, see 8. 4. 1 f.

came to them. Glory came to Makha, but he went off with it. The gods surrounded him, wishing by force to make him give it up. He stood leaning on his bow. The bow-end flew up and cut off his head, which became the Pravargya, introductory sacrifice. Makha is sacrifice. When they offer the Pravargya, they replace the head of sacrifice." In the subsequent division, Agni got the chaunt explained here as "howling" (*raurava*, equivalent to cattle); for the demons strove about the gods, and Agni (*rūra*) burned them till they howled (*aravanta*). Indra got the "victor" chaunt and the thunder-bolt; and Vāyu (wind) got breaths (vital powers) as the *auśana* chaunt). Here there is no mention of Soma, as in ŚB., nor is it said that ants gnawed the bow-string, as in ŚB. above (still less that Indra as an ant did this, or that Makha was Rudra, as in TĀ. 1. 5. 2). In TS. 3. 2. 4. 2, Rudra is *Makhahan*, but so are Agni and Indra "slayers of Makha" (sacrifice).

Indra.

The accepted successor of Prajāpati is Indra, called his "eldest son" in TB. 1. 5. 9. 1. Though Prajāpati created all creatures, they would not "stand for" his superiority. "But he extracted the essence of the four quarters of the world and of all creatures and made thereof a wreath. And when he had put this wreath upon himself they acknowledged his superiority. But he desired that Indra should be the best among his children and he put the wreath upon him. Then all creatures acknowledged Indra's superiority, seeing upon him that wonder-work which they were wont to see upon the father," 16. 4. 1–3.[1]

Indra is the typical warrior. At the Mahāvrata ceremony, girded knights in full panoply march about representing the Indra-power, 5. 5. 21. His people are the Maruts, storm-gods, but chiefly rain-gods of inferior position, so that they are identified with the prosperous husbandmen of earth, who are the prey of the nobles. The Great Brāhmaṇa has not much to say about them, but what it says is valuable as a testimony of the low regard in which the agriculturist was held. Their prosperity is indeed without limit; they

[1] The next section says that in the same way a son who gets most (during the father's life) is popularly regarded as the heir of all the property (JUB. 1. 51. 5, eldest son has first choice). Indra, thus honored, "conquered all" (but only by means of sacrifice) ib. 5. On *śilpa* the wreath-wonder, beauty, cf. ib. 9 and 16. 6. 13; 15. 2.

are numerous, for it was their wish to be greater in number than other gods, so that they are reckoned by groups (cf. TS. 2. 2. 5. 7; 11. 1). They are the common people among the gods.[1]

In 21. 1. 1 f., it is said, "Indra plundered the Maruts, his own people, of a thousand cows, delivering them over to Soma, the king. Hence (nowadays) people plunder the husbandmen, delivering over to the king (the booty)." The following tale, of Yama's overhearing the two robber-gods (representing the nobles and the king) and insisting on getting his share, is too long to cite in full, though it has one interesting feature which may be explained in brief. After letting the two gods know that he wanted his share in the plunder, Yama proposes a sort of wager to see which shall get the most desirable cow, and the three agree to let the matter be decided according to whichever of the gods the cow shall approach first. A similar wager is made between Indra and Ruśamā, when they make a bet as to which will run round the earth first; and the great saint Viśvāmitra makes a wager that his team will drag a heavy wagon up a river-bank, failing to do which the Sāudanti people, his opponents, are to get the wagon, while if he wins they are to fill it with good things for him.[2]

Indra is the only live god of the day. The Father-god, Prajāpati, is an abstraction and the other gods are merely gods of the machine, but Indra, though trammeled by the ritual in which he is enmeshed, still "struggles to be free, his hinder parts," and remains a very amusing and real god, although, again, his greatest activity is exhibited in the combat with the demon Vṛtra. Vṛtra, however, is not a mere thievish demon. He has, in fact, a godlike personality. Just as "when Varuṇa was initiated, his glory departed, Bhṛgu his son getting a third of it, the Śrāyantīya Sāman a third, and a third entered water,"[3] so, when Indra killed Vṛtra, the demon's variegated form became the earth, the stars, and the "lotus" between (i. e. the atmosphere), and when the sacrificer puts on the lotus-wreath, he symbolically assumes the power of Vṛtra, 18. 9. 6. As the wreath

[1] PB. 18. 1. 14; 19. 14. 1; 21. 14. 3 with 14. 12. 9, "rays of Indra." The Maruts are represented as jealous of Indra. Agastya consecrated bulls to them, but slew (bound) them for Indra. Taking the thunderbolt the Maruts flew at Agastya. He saw the Kayāśubhīya Sāman (RV. 1. 165) and calmed them with it, 21. 14. 5 (cf. 9. 4. 17. Agastya's Sūkta; TS. 7. 5. 5. 2).

[2] 14. 3. 12; 25. 13. 3.

[3] 18. 9. 1. f.; cf. ŚB. 5. 4. 5. 1; TS. 1. 8. 18. 1. (RV. 8. 99. 3 *śrāyanta iva sūryam*).

also represents the twelve-month year, it is clear that Vṛtra is a divinity like Varuṇa. Conversely, among the sacrificial offerings is a load of barley (ib. 7 and 17), given expressly *nirvaruṇatvaya*, "to escape from Varuna," that is from ill caused by his demoniac power.[1]

Indra slays Vṛtra in the Rig Veda by casting the thunderbolt at him; but at this time he does so only with the help of holy syllables (*aiyaha iti, aiyado-hō ve 'ti*, 11. 11. 12); or with the Sāman *pramañhiṣṭhīya*, 12. 6. 6; or with the *abhinidhana*, 14. 4. 5; and his thunderbolt is now the Vaṣatkāra, 8. 1. 1–2. The "fifteen-night" rite is the bolt with which Indra won his victory, for "not without a bolt does one overthrow power," 19. 16. 2; 23. 10. 2–3. By the "seven-night" rite and by the Pañcadaśa he overcame other divinities, 22. 8. 2; 25. 1. 9. His heirlooms are from Prajāpati, the "*udbhid* of Indra" is the *udbhid* with which, 16. 16. 2 (above) Prajāpati was the splitter- up of the worlds. He recovers strength by means of recuperative Sāmans, 18. 11. 1–3. He kills his "evil rival" by the Vighana ceremony, 19. 18. 2 (TB. 2. 7. 18. 1). Other similar means are recorded in 12. 13. 23, and *ib.* 14 and 16, as well as in 8. 5. 1; 8. 8. 6 (here he is supported by Varuṇa); and in conjunction with Agni, 19. 17. 1; 24. 17. 2, where the two, as in 25. 11. 2, are said to be the "strongest two of the divinities." By the same Vighana, Indra also slew "the ungodly magical powers which pursued him," 19. 19. 1. Indra himself is *par excellence* the magician, as in 13. 6. 9 he exerts in vain all the magic at his command.[2] In RV. 7. 98. 5, Indra himself overcomes "ungodly magical powers"; but here he first runs to Prajāpati. In 14. 8. 6, before he kills "the evil one," he is strengthened by other gods. He practices austerity to obtain glory and power; his strength is increased by sacrifice; his whole joy is in praise; metres are his steeds, and "where they

[1] Varuṇa was not at first acknowledged as king; barley was not at first agreeable to him. ib. and cf. ŚB. 3. 8. 5. 10 and 5 2. 5. 16; also PB. 13. 9. 23; 15. 3. 30. TS. 6. 6. 5. 2; 7. 3; ŚB. 4. 4. 5. 10; 5. 1. 6. In the dispute recorded at 7. 8. 1 f., between Prajāpati, Agni, Indra, the All-gods, and Mitra-Varuṇa, Indra says "I am the best among you," but the Father-god makes them share (in the *vāmadevyam*, *sarvadevatyam*). He has a *sava* and *praghāsa*. 19. 13. 1 and 17. 13. 7–10, and curses the Vrātyas in 12. 18. 2, who, under Budha as sthapati, had illegally held a sacrifice; but the popular verses appended show that the curse was to little effect. The most important sacrificial function of Varuṇa is in taking (disposing of) all that is ill-sacrificed, 13. 2. 4; 15. 1. 3; 2. 4; 7. 7.

[2] In RV. 8. 14. 14, the *māyās* are not the demons' but Indra's.

are, there is Indra." He is a bull, for the bull is the lord of animals.[1]

Indra's relations with his chief enemy are not those of an easy victor. He fears, gets his power as a gift, parleys, etc., 8. 4. 5: 5. 11. He fears the Bṛhat which was "born with him," and surpasses him till the god takes away a sixteenth part of it to make the *ṣoḍaśin*, 12. 13. 1. He receives help and cannot make it avail (in one of the many tales of personified metres, 12. 13. 4). The same opening serves for another tale at 13. 4. 1, where Prajāpati is said to have extracted "the virile power of metres" and given it to Indra, so that at last "he split the demon's skull in the middle," *śīman*, whence the name *simā* (as in the following the *mahanāmnyaḥ* verses are etymologized from *mahyā*, cry): but see ib. 9. 4 (*sima* as *samana*).

The chief variations from the stereotyped formula of the Vṛtra tales (to the effect that by the help of this or that chaunt or rite Indra killed Vṛtra) are as follows. Indra raised his bolt against Vṛtra three times and three times Vṛtra said, "Do not smite me, there is power in me; I will give it to you." He gave it to Indra each time; each time Viṣṇu received it [from Indra]. So the verse (Rig Veda, 6. 69. 8) says "You both conquer, win a thousand," and the moral is that one should give a thousand cows as a sacrificial fee, in three divisions, 20. 15. 6. Compare ĀB. 6. 15. 11. and ŚB. 1. 6. 3. 17; 3. 3. 1. 13 and 15; 5. 5. 5. 5, from which it is apparent that each story has a double form, for (in ŚB., for example) more than 'power' is given, and in the application of the Vedic verse, the description of the cows is one practically duplicated in the story (already told above) about Soma and Indra being forced to divide with Yama the cows, or the thousandth cow, which has all the qualities of the thousand separate cows.[2] The tale (here)

[1] 14. 9. 34; 19. 7. 5; 16. 3. 8; 9. 4. 8; *ṛṣabhatā*. 19. 12. 2-3 (18. 6. 14): TB. 1. 6. 1. 8. etc.

[2] In PB 21. 1. 3 f. the cow comes out of the water first for Soma as a brown red-eyed heifer, a year old, as the *somakrayaṇī* cow; second for Indra as a speckled cow, *śabalī paṣṭhāuhī*, the *indriyāṣpā*, three years old; third for Yama, as an "old, diseased, hornless, cow, or a dun cow, two years old, and too short in the forequarters," the *anustaraṇī*. TS. 7. 1. 6. 3 has here *rohiṇī*, *lakṣmaṇā*, *paṣṭhāuhī*, *vārtraghnī* (as in ŚB.), but for Yama's cow the descriptions differ altogether, except for the word "old"; viz., in TS., *mārkhā tajjaghanyā*, in PB., *kuṣṭā' śṛṅgy (udāit) dhūmrā vā dityāuhī 'rmataḥ hrasīyasī* (*ditya* for *dvitīya*, cf. *turyāuhī*). Sāyaṇa explains *kuṣṭā* as *kuṣṭavarṇā* (PW. for *kuṣṭhā*). Yama is elsewhere represented as

is told, TS. 2. 4. 12 (6. 5. 1. 1, of the *ukthyam*; cf. ŚB. 4. 2. 3. 10, Viṣṇu assists Indra and he kills Vṛtra, when he has lost the *māyā* of sacrifice).

Indra killed Vṛtra and lost strength. The gods sought an expiation *prāyaścittam*, for him. Nothing did him any good save the "bitter Soma" (rite), 18. 5. 2; with the same opening ib. 11. 1, *vyabhraiśata* for *vyārthat*, and the remedy as the *Śrāyantīya* (in TS. 2. 5. 3. 2, his strength enters earth and becomes plants).

A word here on the Soma that flowed from Vṛtra's nose and became *arjunāni*, with brown-tufted stalks: and from his cut- up omentum, *lohitatūlani*, red-tufted, 9. 5. 7. There is first the *pūtikā* substitute for Soma, see ib. 5. 1; *arjunāni* are substitutes for substitutes, ib. 1. 4. The *pūtikā* fell from the *Gāyatrī*, shot by Soma-guards, the gods found *ūti* (help) in it, hence *p-ūti-kā*. Gods ascend to sacrifice openly by the Soma-rite; of men of old there was *asuta*; of gods, *suta*. Soma obtained kingship by austerities and became glorious, 11. 3. 9. The priest is Soma, the god Pūṣan is cattle; thus in sacrifice they magnify their own divinity, they "have made a skin" (protection), 23. 16. 5. On the *pūtikā*, see also 8. 4. 1–2 (cf. TS. 6. 1. 6. 1), on metres fetching the Soma and the Gāyatrī bringing it with hands and teeth (three pressings). The description resembles Kāṭh 34. 3 (*lohitatūla*), rather than ŚB. 4. 5. 10. 2 f. Nor does the Great Brāh. here seem the earlier, as it also appears to have a later version of the Viśvāvasu story, which in PB. is disjunct, while in TS. it immediately follows the Kadrū story, as in ŚB. 3. 2. 4. 1. In TS., V. stole the Soma, 6. 1. 6. 5, and, being a Gandharva fond of women, is tempted to sell Soma for a woman, Vāc. Similar is the well-known version in ŚB., whereas the PB. has the story separated from the story of Gāyatrī (above), 6. 9. 22: "The metres verily brought the Soma hither. The Gandharva Viśvāvasu stole it and therewith entered the water. The divinities sought after him. Viṣṇu spied him in the water. He, Viṣṇu, anxiously considered, "Is this one here really he?" (*sa vyakāṅksad ayaṁ nū*[3] *nā*[3] *iti* (S. *nviti vitarke, ayaṁ somāpahartā bhaven no veti*). He poked him with his foot. Hence the drops were scattered separately" (etc., to explain *ete asṛgram indavaḥ*, RV. 9. 62. 1 a).

To return to Vṛtra: Indra on smiting him thought he had not overthrown him and fled to the farthest distance. He there took

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obtaining the overlordship of heaven by means of a Sāman (Yāma), so that it could not be taken from him. *anapajayyam*, 11. 10. 21 and and "Yamī made Yama get to heaven by the same Sāman." ib. 22.

refuge in the Anuṣṭubh metre, after he tore it apart (*vyauhat*),[1] and crept down into its middle. He who knows this and praises Indra with the proper Sāmans (7) in this metre, worships in Indra's "house of refuge" and stands in security, 15. 11. 9. Which the expression *indragṛhe 'bhayc*, "Indra's house of refuge," compare 10. 5. 15–16: "As men enter the world, so the divinities enter the Dvādaśāha ceremony. This is the home of the gods, *oko devānām*; it is their house, *gṛhāḥ*. One who practices this rite need not fear that he will be without a home," *na 'gṛhatāya bhayyam*.[2] The beginning of this tale is found ĀB. 3. 15. 1. Cf. *devapur*, above.

One more tale of this character, like TS. 2. 1. 4. 5, but differing in the means of escape from the "Evil," and without notice of the "cows of Videha" from Vṛtra's head (cf. ib. 5. 4. 5. 4.) Vṛtra, on being attacked by Indra, involved him in sixteen coils (so MS. 3. 3. 7, but in 2. 5. 3 in seven), from which Indra released himself only by discovering an appropriate *padastobha*. Even then "the evil" still clung to him; but he removed that also by the same means, 13. 5. 22 f. This common motive, already referred to, implying that, of necessity, the slain haunts the slayer, is best known by the tale of Namuci. "Verily Indra and the demon Namuci agreed together (saying), 'Of us two not (one) shall smite (kill the other) by night or day, with (what is) wet or dry.'" Indra cut off his head at dawn before sunrise with foam of water, (thinking) "this verily which is at dawn before sunrise is 'not by day or night'; this which is foam is neither 'wet nor dry.'" This head, a greater evil, speaking a word to him followed him (saying) "Slayer of heroes, thou hast injured the innocent," *vīrahann, adruho druha (iti)*. Not by sacred verse or chaunt could he destroy it; but (at last) by the *Harivarṇasya nidhana* he destroyed it," 12. 6. 8–9 (cf. TB. 1. 7. 1. 7, *mitradhrug, iti*, freed by *apāmārgās*; ŚB. 12. 7. 3. 1, a later form: *pāpīyam* (sic), cf. Mbh. 2. 64. 3, *pāpīyas*, v. l. *papīyam*, and PB. 13. 5. 23, *pāpmā vāva sa tam agṛhṇāt*.).

The cry of the accuser in the Great Epic, 9. 43. 37, is *mitrahan pāpa*, and here the guilty god is purified by bathing in the Aruṇā

[1] See, on this "womb" metre, 11. 5. 17: and *nā 'nuvyūhanti (anuṣṭubhaṁ chandāṁsi)*, 6. 1. 11 (Śūdra metre).

[2] Children and cattle are also a man's home. Cf. 2. 3. 2; progeny is a nest, *kulāyam*, and so are cattle; 19. 15. 1, *kulāyam* is the same as *gṛhāḥ* applied to a one-day ceremony called the "Indra and Agni kulāya," whereby one "gets to a home," *kulāyam eva bhavati*. A man's home, *okas*, is where "he is familiar with everything." *sarvam asmāi dīvā bhavati*, 5. 8. 9=9. 1. 11 (cf. Ch. Up. 3. 11. 3).

Tīrtha. The demon is an Asura, his head is a Rakṣas (ogre), ŚB. 5. 4, 1. 9. The thought of Indra, even when he kills Vṛtra, is that he has sinned, as in PB. 22. 14. 2, "Indra on killing Vṛtra thought he had done wrong," *akāryaṁ cakāṛvan amanyata*. Compare TS. 2. 5. 3. 6 = 6. 5. 5. 2, "Indra on killing Vṛtra fled to the farthest distance thinking he had sinned," *apārādham*. But with Namuci the sin is double, because it is a betrayal of sworn friendship. Similar is the reproach of the kine in the case of Mitra himself, when he has deceived his friend, *Mitraḥ san krūram akar*, "Being the friend thou hast done a cruel thing," TS. 6. 4. 8. 1, cf. PB. 13. 6. 10, where Indra instigates the perfidious deed of Sumitra and a voice (the usual "inauspicious voice") cries, *sumitraḥ san krūram akar*.

The gods of course trick the demons without compunction. Like Śaṇḍa and Marka, "two chaplains of the demons, whom the gods cajoled by a trickly invitation," *upamantrayanta*, TS. 6. 4. 10. 1 (cf. for the names, TB. 1. 1. 1. 5; ŚB. 4. 2. 1. 1, etc.), was Uśanas the Wise, *kāvya*, "the chaplain of the demons, whom the gods cajoled by a trickly invitation," here by wish-cows. They offered him the Sāmans called Āuśanāni, for they are wish-cows (that is the Sāmans of Uśanas grant wishes like the wonder-cows), 7. 5. 20. In 14. 12. 5, Uśanas "desired to win as great a world as that of other Kāvyas and so practiced austerity, discovered the Sāman that bears his name, and with it won his wish."[1] The "seer's son" has here apparently (as later in the epic) become the devil's chief minister (magician already in RV. 9. 88. 3); but in fact the historical process

[1] The (metrical) wonder-cows were originally eight, but one collapsed, *samaśīryata*, and became agriculture. The gods got exclusive possession of the wish-cows by means of the Ākṣāra Sāman. 11. 5. 8 (cf. Prajāpati's use of this Sāman, to make the sap of the worlds flow, 11. 5. 10). Two other head-demons, known in the ŚB. 1. 1. 4. 14 as Kilāta and Ākuli are probably mentioned in PB. 13. 12. 5. *kirātakulyāv asuramāye*, as disturbing the Gāupāyanas at divine service by dispersing (pun on the name? *antaḥparidhy asūn prākiratām*) the saints' vital breaths among the sacrificial sticks; though, by repeating, from RV. 5. 24. 1, the words *agne tvam no antama*, the Gāupāyanas recovered their vitality. This Vedic passage is not in the Vedic Concordance for PB. So too RV. 8. 66. 1[a] is lacking entirely for PB. (8. 3. 3 and 6); RV. 9. 1. 1[a], lacking for PB. 8. 4. 4. and 5; RV. 10. 55. 5[a], lacking for PB. 9. 6. 3. On the text, S. says *kirātā mlecchaḥ tatkulyarūpe*, "belonging to the Kirāta (barbarians) clan," but probably *ākulyāv* is to be read, as an adjective with *māye*. Compare IS. 1. 32; JRAS. 1866, 438; JAOS. 18. 42. JB. has *kirātākulī . . asuramāyāu* (verb, *nyadhattām*).

is reversed. He was "wise" as magician and was hence regarded as son of a "Wise man" or, more remotely, was Iranian.[1]

Indra's conduct with the Tvaṣṭar family is typical. In this case also he kills unjustifiably the son of Tvastar, and an inauspicious voice addressed him, saying "O brahma-slayer!". Indra fled to Agni for help and by means of the Agni-laud, discovered for this end by Agni, he removed the inauspicious voice, 17. 5. 1 (fire burns away sin).[2] The story is found in all the Brahmanic (cf. TS. 2. 5. 1. 2, etc.) and epic literature; but less well known is the fact that when Indra had ophthalmia, *akṣyāmayīn*, other beings could not put him to sleep, but "Tvaṣṭar's daughters" put him to sleep by singing to him the chaunt that bears their name. Again, when Indra was running away from Vṛtra, he entered a cow, and Tvaṣṭar's daughters by the same means "brought him forth," *abrūvan janayame 'ti, tam etaḥ samabhir ajanayan*, 12. 5. 19–21, and so metaphorically became his mothers. These daughters may be so called from their curative ability and really have nothing to do with the god. The first story seems akin to that of TS. 6. 1. 1. 5, where it said that, when Indra killed Vṛtra, his eye fell out and became collyrium. Compare also ŚB. 3. 1. 3. 13 (and 11), where the same story makes the ointment come from mount Trikakud, into which the eye changed on falling out.[3] With the second tale, cf. Indra's flight into the Anuṣṭubh (above), or into water, ŚB. 7. 4. 1. 13.

Indra in connection with saints and seers: The action of the Brāhmaṇa, though Namī Sāpya, a Vāidehan king, is known (25. 10. 17), has to do with the holy-land of India, where are the Sarasvatī river,

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[1] Here his name was Kavi or Kava. On the Iranian origin of this and the preceding chaplains of the demons, see Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* 3. 442. "Kāvya" also of Iḍhat, who "saw heaven," 14. 9. 16 (*āiḍhata* Sāman. for *iṭat*, *uiṭata*); and of Uksṇorandhra, 13. 9. 19.

[2] Cf. ŚB. 11. 1. 5. 7–8, Vṛtra = sin, to be burned away (TS. 2 1. 4. 6–7).

[3] Compare also the common story about Prajāpati's eye swelling and falling out and becoming the horse, or entering barley, *aśvo yad aśvayat*. TS. 5. 3. 12. 1; 6. 4. 10. 5 (barley); PB. 21. 4. 2 and 4; ŚB. 13. 3. 1. 1, f., where the horse is gouged in the thigh by a bee. In VS. 8. 14, Tvaṣṭar himself is a healer; in PB. 9. 10. 3, he is the "transformer of the forms of cattle," as in ŚB. 3. 7. 2. 8 and 3. 11; 3. 8. 3. 11: 13. 3. 8. 1; TS. 2. 4. 6. 1; 6. 6. 6. 2, he, like Wind, is the fashioner of seed; and he is the lord of cattle, who at first used to try to protect them from sacrifice by spitting on their heads, as Amerinds spit on snakes in the Hopi dance.

Kurukṣetra, and the Nāimiśa (25. 6. 4) and Khāṇḍava (forests.)[1] Kurukṣetra is the whole earth, for Indra once made a bet (*aṅsam prāsya*) with Ruśamā that whichever of them should first run round the earth should be the winner, and "Indra ran around the earth. Ruśamā ran around Kurukṣetra. She said, 'I have conquered you' and he said, 'It is I have conquered you.' They asked among the gods, and the gods said, 'Kurukṣetra is as great as the altar of Prajāpati,' so neither of the two won" [for, adds the Commentator, it is said (in the TS. 2. 6. 4. 1), "as great as is the altar of Prajāpati, so great is the earth."] The reader is supposed to know the logical connection (cf. JUB. 5. 1. 5).

Another case of the "inauspicious voice," *aślīlā vāc*, is found in the well-known story of Indra's dealings with certain saints, ascetics, whom he "gave over to the hyenas" (house-dogs? cf. *śālāmṛga*). In 14. 11. 28 and 18. 1. 9, this voice reproaches him for the act and he considers himself impure, till recalled by the *upahavya ekaha* given by Prajāpati. So in 19. 4. 7 (with another expiation). The account in 8. 1. 4 says that three ascetics were left and that Indra supported them with cattle created by uttering a Vedic verse, RV. 1. 84. 19; while another account, in 13. 4. 17, gives the same names, but in other order, as representing warrior, priest, and agriculturist, each getting a boon from Indra, power, holiness, and cattle.[2]

All the "Seven Seers," Bharadvāja, Kaśyapa, Gotama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, are at least noticed in the Great Brāhmaṇa, as they are recognized as a group in 1. 5. 5 (seven seers and seven priests); 22. 4. 2 and 7. More often than any of these, however, are mentioned the Bhārgavas, the various sons of Bhṛgu, some of whom are known only from this work.[3]

[1] Besides the Vaidehan, cf. 22. 15. 1 and 10, Kusurubinda (*daśaratra*), s. of Uddālaka (TS. 7. 2. 2. 1), of northern Kosala, Mbh. 9. 38. 22.–24. Whether Āruṇi (with Aryala) at 23. 1. 5, is the same man is uncertain. A sacrifice on the Sudāman river by Kṣemadhṛtvan Pāuṇḍarīka is mentioned, 22. 18. 7 f

[2] For the latest discussion of this story, with the parallel at JB. 1. 185. see Oertel, JAOS. 19. 123 (cf. TS. 2. 4. 9. 2; 6. 2. 7. 5; ĀB. 7. 28. etc.). Pṛthuraśmi is here identified with Pṛthu Vāinya, who in PB., as Pṛthi Vāinya, "obtained the mastery (overlordship) of both (domestic and wild) animals," 13. 5. 20; TB. 1. 7. 7. 3, Pṛthi Vāinya ("got a realm"). The act of Indra in killing Vṛtra is put on a par with his treatment of the ascetics at TS. 3. 3. 7. 3, each is *amedhyam*, an "unholy" act. Compare the *amedhya* passages cited by Oertel, JAOS. 18. 48.

[3] One of these, 14. 9. 32, had the unique experience of getting to heaven twice by means of his chaunt, the Dvāigata Sāman, which is

"The seers did not see Indra face to face, *pratyakṣam*. Vasiṣṭha desired, 'How may I see Indra face to face?' He discovered (his) Nihava Sāman and then verily he saw Indra face to face. This (Indra) said to that (seer), 'I will teach you a Brāhmaṇa (secret wisdom, like Upaniṣad), so that the Bharatas, having you as their chaplain, may be multiplied; but (*atha*) do not describe me (as revealed in the lauds) to the other seers' (*mā 'nyebhyaḥ . . mā pravocaḥ*). He told him these laud-sharers and then verily the Bharatas, having Vasiṣṭha as their chaplain, were multiplied," 15. 5. 24. This story is told in almost the same words in TS. 3. 5. 2, where also are found the descriptive epithets which in PB. appear at 1. 9. 1, f. See too VS. 15. 6.

There is a Sāman called "dear to Indra," 12. 12. 9–10. Through it "Vasiṣṭha gained the love (*premaṇam*) of Indra:[1] and he gains the love of the gods who praises with this Vāsiṣṭha Sāman." Compare 15. 3. 33 and 11. 8. 14, where is mentioned the Vāsiṣṭha (Brāhmaṇa) or the Vāsiṣṭha Sāman, with which "Vasiṣṭha Vāiḷava, praising Indra, straightway saw the heavenly world." In 7. 7. 17–18, it is said that when the gods went to heaven and the Rathantara metre, because of its greatness (the laud in 19) could not, Vasiṣṭha by removing the (*mahiman*) greatness and praising with it went to heaven. When his son was slain, Vasiṣṭha thought himself deficient (*hīna*, lowered) but by seing RV. 7. 32. 26, Sāmans, and a "four-night rite" he was enabled to have children and cattle and "arrive at the top," 4. 7. 3; 8. 2. 4; 19. 3. 8; 21. 11. 2. The overcoming of the Sāudāsas by V. *hataputra*, of TS. 7. 4. 7. 1, and TB. is not mentioned (Sāudanti, above.) A member of the Vasiṣṭha family is Gāurīviti Śāktya, but, though mentioned three times, he is praised only as having had unusual insight and success (having offered a meat-cake at the Yavyāvatī river), 11. 5. 14; 12. 13. 10: 25. 7. 2 (cf. ŚB. 12. 8. 3. 7; ĀB. 3. 19. 4).

Other saints dear to Indra were the Vāikhānasas. In 14. 4. 7 is narrated their tragic tale: "The Vāikhānasas verily were seers dear

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supposed to be the origin of his name, Dvigat, since "he returned (to this world) and went again to heaven. His Sāman therefore bestows two wishes." The Sāman of Asita Dāivala (epic!) grants even three wishes, since he "saw the sight of the three worlds" (*dṛṣṭim apaśyat*), 14. 11. 19 (cf. 15. 5. 27, *asitam brāhmaṇam*).

[1] This rather unusual word is used TS. (7. 5. 8. 1 and) 5. 5. 8. 2 of gaining the love of Prajāpati, explaining the preceding *prajāpater hṛdayenā 'pikakṣam praty upatiṣṭhate*, which phrase in PB. 5. 4. 4 is followed by *jyāiṣṭhyaṁ jayanti*.

to Indra. Them Rahasyu, a (demoniac) god-robber (*devamalimluc*), killed at a place called Saints' Death (*munimaraṇa*). The gods said to him (Indra), 'What has become of your seers?' He tried to hunt them up but could not find them. (Then) with one stream (at once) he clarified these worlds[1] and found them at Saints' Death. With this (Vāikhānasa) Sāman he revived them; for this verily was then his desire. The (Vāikhānasa) Sāman grants wishes and with it one gets one's wish." Compare also ib. 9. 29, "Puruhanman, a Vāikāhnasa, by means of this (Pāuruhanmana Sāman) straightway saw heaven" (etc., stereotyped phrase, as in 12. 3. 23, and other passages). The Vāikhānasa Sāman is mentioned TS. 7. 1. 4. 3, in connection with the Aṅgirasas Haviṣmat, Haviṣkṛt (below), and Puruhanman is said to have been an Aṅgiras (author of a Vedic hymn). A saint unknown but "dear to Indra" was also Gara, who "by means of the Gāra Sāman delighted Indra," 9. 2. 16 (on RV. 8. 2. 1a).

More remotely connected with Indra is the "son of the man whom Indra helped," Āindrota, whose own name was Dṛti (S. Dṛta). He is fifth after Indra in the line of succession and called Śāunaka, JUB. 3. 40. 2. In quite the style of the Upaniṣad he is addressed by Abhipratārin, a king-seer: "O Dṛti Āindrota, thus verily spoke (the Kuru, JUB. 1. 59. 1) Abhipratārin Kākṣaseni, where do those go to, who ascend to the top of a great tree? (Answer): O king, those that have wings fly forth; down come those that have no wings"; (and the application): "Those who have wisdom have wings; those that have no wisdom have no wings," 14. 1. 12 and 15 (cf. JUB. 3. 13. 9). The same speaker appears again in 10. 5. 7: "O Girikṣit, son of Uccāmanyu (thus said A.K.), how is it with the twelve-day rite?" (He answered): "As the tire surrounds the spokes, so the Gāyatrī metre surrounds it, that it may not fall apart. As spokes are fastened in the hub, so in this Gāyatrī is fastened the twelve-day rite." On the story of the son of Abhipratārin, which shows that property was divided in the lifetime of the father, see JB. 3. 156 in JAOS. 26. 61. In the JUB. 3. 1. 21 and in the Chāndogya the father is associated with a Kāpeya (Ch.U. 4. 3. 5. f.), and of this clan it is said in the Great Brāhmaṇa that "the Kāpeyas caused Citraratha to sacrifice with this (two-night ceremony) and made him the only beholder of food. Hence the first (one) of the Caitrarathins

[1] Compare our "first shot," etc., but, as the stream may be dimly connected in the mind with the clarifying process, it is as well to leave the original sense: *tān prāiṣam aicchat tān nā 'vindat. sa imān lokān ekadhāreṇā 'punāt*, etc. With the "god-robber," cf. "sacrifice-robber," *yajñamuṣ*, TS. 3. 5. 4. 1.

is born as a satrap, Kṣatrapati, while the second is like a dependant" (*anulamba*; cf. 18. 9. 16), 20. 12. 5. In the epic, Citraratha is king of Aṅga as well as king of the Gandharvas (Gītā, 10. 26). The Dṛti mentioned above may be he of 25. 3. 6: "Dṛti and Vātavat verily entered on this rite in Khāṇḍava. At the completion of the Mahāvrata, Vātavat closed the session; but Dṛti completed (the twelvemonth course, *ayana*).[1] Hence the Vātavats are thinner (or fewer), the Dārteyas are fatter (or more numerous)."

The god's attitude toward the saints is that of an honored but critical diner. Just as Prajāpati is feasted in silence "since it would be improper for servants to discuss the food while waiting on a great man, for blame of the food would be like knocking into the road the offering brought to a distinguished man for his journey," 15. 7. 3–4, so Indra has his favorite cooks, though they must be ready on time, for "those who come first win Indra, as those who first enter the water win the ford," 9. 4. 12.[2] He prefers the Soma as prepared by Turaśravas with the Tāuraśravase (two) Sāmans, and by Jamadagni with the *vihavya*, 9. 4. 10 and 14. "The more the ceremony, the dearer to Indra," *yo vai bhūyan yajñakratuḥ sa indrasya priyaḥ*, ib. 15 (cf. TS. 3. 1. 7. 3). He was deficiently praised by all beings till Ṛṣya discovered the omitted form, *aṅga*, and by praising with it "reached Indra's dear place," 5. 4. 14.[3]

Turaśravas was favored by Indra carrying off from the Jumna for him the offering of the rival Pārāvatas on the Jumna (9. 4. 10). He is not again mentioned; but Jamadagni is more important. He (above) was a rival of the seers (in TS. with Viśvāmitra he is a

[1] *viṣuvati vātavān utthiṣṭhati samāpayati dṛtiḥ*. The verbs are all in the present tense.

[2] *Ya vāi pūrvāḥ prasnānti taḥ purvas tīrthaṁ jayanti, pūrva eve 'ndram ārabhante*. Compare TS. 3. 4. 8. 3, *yasya pūrvasya juhvati, sa eva bhavati, jayati taṁ saṁgrāmam*. The ford-crossing when there is no good bottom is made by "holding on to each other," *yathā 'da ugragūdhe vyatiṣajya gāhante*, evidently a proverb, 14. 8. 4 and 8 and 15. 2. 6. and 9 (cf. RV. 10. 53. 8. *aśmanvatī rīyate saṁ rabhadhvam*), like its mate, "who enters ocean without a boat does not return to shore," both being applied to the "saving verses" of the year-sacrifice and the metre, 5. 8. 5 and 14. 5. 17 (explained 11. 10. 16); cf. 5. 3. 3. metre as a "hairy sea:" also TS. 5. 3. 10. 1.

[3] Cf. Ār. S., 4. 9. for the Ṛṣya Sāman. The next section of the Brāh. tells how "shame," *hrītamukha*, may be obviated in the recitation (*pratyakṣa* not *parokṣa*), ib. 15.

rival of Vasiṣṭha, 3. 1. 7. 3 = 5. 4. 11. 3)[1] and Indra, at a place since known as "Indra's Yell" is said to have yelled at him and Viśvāmitra, "O Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni, here (come) these cows" (therefore the "Yell Sāman" is given, to secure cattle, 13. 5. 15 ("cattle come when called with the voice," 23. 28. 8).[2] Jamadagni is one of the numerous "sons of Bhṛgu" (Turaśravas is said to have been an Āṅgirasa), who is especially celebrated on account of his prosperity, which is said in this Brāhmaṇa to have been caused by his *catūrātra*, or four-night rite, and even now it induces such family prosperity (possession of cattle and sons) as to give rise to the proverb in regard to his descendants, "The two sons of Urva (descendants of Jamadagni) are not recognized as grey-haired men" (that is, they seem young, *na vā ūrvau palitau saṁjānāte*), 21. 10. 5–7 and (without the proverb) 22. 7. 2 (compare TS. 7. 1. 9. 1, *tasmāt palitau jamadagniyau na saṁjānāte*). In 1. 5. 9, *ūrva* is a general name for a class of manes (feasted at midday) distinct from *kāvyas* and *avamas* (= *ūmas*, ĀB. 7. 34. 2). Jamadagni is one of the three saints who had three lives (*palita* cannot be "poor,") and part of the "prosperity" of his family is shown in their youthful vigor even at an advanced age. In TS. 7. 1. 8. 1, Āurva is provided with sons by Atri (four-night rite), who is mentioned in PB. as discoverer of this rite and thereby getting four sons, 21. 9. 2 (another rite gives ten sons, 25. 7. 4; one gives a thousand, 15. 16. 3).

Viśvāmitra is known also by his rite called "V.'s victory," to explain which it is said that the "Jahnus (and) Vṛcīvatas were fighting for kingship. Viśvāmitra the king, a Jāhnava, saw this (four-night rite) and so got the realm; the others got no realm," 21. 12. 2.[3]

Another seer, author of Vedic hymns (8. 23–26) and materially helped by Indra, was Viśvamanas. An ogre seized him as he was going out to study. Indra noticed him. "An ogre has seized the

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[1] In TS. 5. 2. 10. 5, Vas. represents the east; Jam. the north; Viśv. the west.

[2] Compare on the Indra-krośa, TS. 7. 5. 8. 1, a yell at the end of the ceremony keeps the *indriyaṁ vīryam* from getting away.

[3] *Jahnuvṛcīvanto rāṣṭra āhiṁsanta, sa Viśvāmitro Jāhnavo rājā 'tam (catūrātram) apaśyat; sa rāṣṭram abhavad, arāṣṭram itare.* Sāyaṇa: *Jahnoḥ putrā ṛcīvannāmakāḥ kecana rājāna āsan*, etc. The Jāhnavas and Vṛcīvatas (Jahnu as in ĀB. 7. 18) are meant. "Indra slew the Vṛcīvatas," it is said, RV. 6. 27. 5. In 14. 11. 33, a Vāiśvāmitra called Udala attained to children and power by the Āudala Sāman (*prajātiṁ bhūmānam agacchat*, stereotyped except for Kulmalabarhis who (by the Kāulmalabarhiṣa), *prajāpatiṁ* (sic) *bhūmānam agacchat* (15. 3. 21.)!

seer," said he to himself. Then he addressed the seer, saying, "Seer, who is this one thee (has seized)?" The ogre said, "Say it is Sthāṇu"; so he said "Sthāṇu." "Hit at him with this," said (Indra), extending his thunderbolt as a reed to the seer. Therewith he split the ogre's skull at the middle suture, and as such (for this reason) the (ordinary) reed on earth is called "Indra-bent." This (dead ogre as) evil, *pāpmā*, seized the seer. That evil he removed by means of the Sāman (called after him) the Vāiśvamanasa Sāman. 15. 5. 20.[1] The long list of heroes helped and fiends defeated is complemented by two tales of females.[2]

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[1] The reed is called *indreṇatā*, "made (*nirmitā*) by Indra," according to Sāyaṇa. Above, *kas tvāi 'ṣa iti* (sc. *agrahīt*) is extraordinarily pregnant as the beginning of an address.

[2] These tales of Akūpārā and the ogress Dīrghajihvī (who destroyed sacrifice) have already been sufficiently discussed by Oertel, JAOS. 18. 26. and *Proc. Or. Congress at Paris*, p. 285, with fresh parallels. The first name, 9. 2. 14, may be complemented by the tale of Akūpāra Kaśyapa, who "got power and greatness" through the same Sāman by which Indra made clear the skin of the Āṅgirasī Akūpārā, 15. 5. 30. Compare the tale of the "smoothness of skin" *arukṣatā*, gained by Kapivana Bhāuvāyana, 20. 13. 4 (Kāṭh. 32. 2). The name of the seducer of the ogress must be Sumitra Kautsa, as in JB. (The reproachful voice of this tale, 13. 6. 9, has been spoken of above, p. 48.) In all the prose of the Brāhmaṇa, the proper name stands first, followed (if at all) by the patronymic or metronymic, and then by the clan-name, though a *kula* or *śākhā* name may be the only one besides the proper name. The second name is usually in patronymic form Āṭṇāra, Śrāyasa (as Kāśyapa above is patronymic). Cases of two names are common; for the third, cf. 8. 6. 8: *etad dha sma vā āha Kuśāmbaḥ* (sic!) *Svāyavo brahmā Lātavyaḥ* (v. l. Lālavyaḥ), *kaṁ svid adya śiśumārī yajñapathe 'py astā garisyati* (Kuśāmba, son of Svayu, a priest of the Lātavya (son of Latu) family. In poetry the proper name may come last, *mahīm dīkṣāṁ Sāumāyano Budho yad udayacchata*, 24. 18. 6 (for *udayacchat* of text, which, however, recognizes this as *śloka*). Above, Sumitra Kāutsa is called *kalyāṇa*, that is "handsome"; but elsewhere this too is a proper name (see below). The *-eya* patronymic exchanges with *-āyana* in Upoditi Gāupāleya (= Gāupālāyana, ĀB. 3. 48. 9), cited at 12. 13. 11 (*viśālāṁ libujayā bhūtyā 'bhyadhāt . . . na śriyā avapadya, iti*). It may be added that the patronymic may designate the ancestor. In 13. 12. 8 it is said, "Verily by means of this (Sāman, called "good, *bhadram*, of Gotama"), Gotama attained power and greatness (*jemānam mahimānam agacchat*, same phrase in 15. 5. 30, of Akūpāra, and elsewhere). Hence those (of the family) before and after Gotama are both termed "Gotama-seers," *ye ca parāñco gotamād ye cā 'rvāñcas ta ubhaye gotamarṣayo bruvate*. Bṛhaduktha

But there is another side to the worship of Indra, one which reveals the fact that there was distrust and unbelief in him, carefully as the fact is veiled. The saint who was lacking in faith is expressly mentioned, but stronger confirmation comes from the deliberate suppression of the truth, such as is contained in the version of the dolphin-seer in the Great Brāhmaṇa, as compared with the account in JB. cited by Prof. Oertel in this volume. The seer of JB. 3. 193 flouts the god and is only brought to his senses by Indra's inducing Prajāpati to dry up the water and leave the scorner humbled, while in PB. the account is as follows: All beings praised Indra. He, meeting Śarkara, a dolphin-(śiśumāra)seer, said, "Praise me." He, scattering water, said, "So much would I praise thee" (JB. has "I will not praise thee"). Therefore (the god) caused a commotion (swelling? *vega*) of the water. This seer then thought himself deficient (lowered, *hīna*), as it were. He saw this (Śārkara) Sāman. Therewith he compassed not the water (i. e. his praise exceeded the water!). That only was his wish. This Śārkara Sāman is a wish-winner; by it one wins one's wish, 14. 5. 15.

But in 13. 11. 10, Vidanvat, "son of Bhṛgu," dares more, or his act cannot be concealed. "He struck at Indra." Perhaps the tale is for the moral wholly, as "sorrow assailed him." However, he practiced penance and saw four Sāmans and "removed his sorrow." In the JB. version (given by me in JAOS. 26. 43 and 63), Vidanvat supports Cyavana, another son of Bhṛgu, against Indra, when the god opposed Cyavana's offering a libation to the Aśvins. Cyavana

is known only by his metronymic, Vāmneya. "son of the woman Vāmnī," 14. 9. 38; but as it is said that he *annasya purodhām agacchat*, and the same expression is used of Vāmadeva, 13. 9. 27 (whose *vāmadevya* is otherwise explained in 7. 8. 1) it may be that he really is (called) Vāmadevya (as elsewhere). Some of the metronymics are explained as patronymics by the commentator. Thus he says that Kakṣīvat Āuśija was son of a man called Uśija, whereas this saint was the son of a slave-girl, Uśij, 14. 11. 17 (at 25. 16. 3. he has Uśipntra: list as in TS. 5. 6. 4. 5). The name of the seer who "saw" the Sāman and gained an advantage from it is usually given to the Sāman in patronymic form (*e. g.*, "Śukti Āṅgirasa straightway saw heaven by means of the Śāukta Sāman." 12. 5. 15); though sometimes the Sāman is merely known as "of him," as in cases already mentioned. So the "Śunaskarṇa Stoma" was employed (no personal advantage is mentioned in this case) by Śunaskarṇa, son of Baṣkiha, 17. 12. 6. The Sāman, however, has sometimes only a clan name. *e. g. āśu bhārgavam*. 14. 9. 9. In 13. 3. 12. S. has Vṛśa *Vājāna*, chaplain of Tryaruṇa, son of Tridhātu (Āikṣvāka).

is the son of Dadhyak, an Āṅgirasa, and was rejuvenated; the Cyāvana Sāman implies progeny (because the embryo falls out, *cyavate*, or because Prajāpati makes rain fall), 13. 5. 12–13 (cf. 19. 3. 6); 14. 6. 10; 11. 8. 11. Dadhyak seems to be a substitute for Bṛhaspati, as chaplain of the gods, at 12. 8. 6: *Dadhyaṅ ha vā Āṅgiraso devānām purodhānīya āsīd, annaṁ vai brahmaṇaḥ purodha 'nnādyasya 'varudhyai* (RV. 1. 84. 13a).

There were also Kutsa and Luśa, who invoked Indra, 9. 2. 22. and Kutsa, when the god turned to him, bound him with a hundred straps of leather (*āṇḍayoḥ*, too!), till Luśa shamed him into freeing himself. This story is to explain the origin of the Kāutsa Sāman, with which (it is elsewhere said, 14. 11. 26) Kutsa discovered the "separate drinking" on the fast day (before the Soma-sacrifice) which he "pacified with a bag of brandy," *surāḍṛti*.[1]

Upagu, son of Suśravas, is said to have been the chaplain of Kutsa (here called the son of Uru).[2] His story is this: Kutsa cursed anyone who should revere Indra. Indra came to Suśravas and said "Revere me; for verily I am hungry." The saint revered him (that is, gave him an offering of food). Indra, with the sacrificial cake still in his hand, came to Kutsa and said, "He has revered me. What has become of your curse?" "Who reveres you?" said he. "Suśravas," he replied. Then this Kutsa, son of Uru, took the *udumbara* post and with it cut off the head of Upagu, son of Suśravas, even as Upagu was chaunting. Then said Suśravas to Indra, "Because of you has this sort of thing come upon me." (But) Indra revived this (Upagu) with the Sāuśravasa Sāman. That was what he wished (as he uttered the Sāman), and this Sāman is a wish-winner. 14. 6. 8.

How much of this is sectarian hatred and how much reflects rank infidelity cannot now be known. But there is no lack of cursing in the Great Brāhmaṇa, some of which is obviously sectarian, as when it is said that Luśākapi Khārgali (s. of Khargala) cursed the impotent old Vrātyas,[3] whose Gṛhapati was Kuṣītaka, son of Samaśravas, saying, "Impure have they become; the two deficient (smaller) laudations have they employed. And because of this curse, none

[1] Kutsa is an Āṅgirasa, author of RV. 1. 94 (BD. 3. 126). Cf. RV. 10. 38. 5; JB. 1. 228; and the discussion by Oertel, JAOS. 18. 31. See also ŚB. 12. 7. 3. 4 and 12. 8. 1. 16. on brandy as a purification.

[2] *Upagur vāi Sāuśravasaḥ Kutsasyāu 'ravasya purohita āsīt*, etc. S on Kutsa Āurava says "a royal seer, son of Uru."

[3] *Śamanīcamedhrā(n) . . anuvyaharat.*

of the sons of Kuṣitaka (the Kāuṣītakis) amounts to much, for they are sacrificially impure," 17. 4. 3. On the other hand the Bhāllavis (below) and Śākalas, 13. 3. 10 (Śakala and his Śākala Sāman) are mentioned with approval.

Two rather good stories illustrative of priestly jealousy are told. The first, 13. 3. 24, is well known from its being repeated in the Code of Manu: "Śiśu Āṅgirasa was a mantra-maker of mantra-makers. He addressed the Fathers as "little sons." The fathers said to him, "You do wrong in addressing us, who are your Fathers, as little sons." He said, "Verily I am your father, since I am the maker of mantras." They asked among the gods, and the gods said, "Verily he is your father, since he is the maker of mantras." So he truly won out; and he who lauds with the (Sāman called) Śāiśava, wins out (in Manu, 2. 151, f., he is called "giver of mantras)." Compare Mbh. 9. 51. 46, f., where this story has been transferred to Sārasvata, *bālas tvam asi putraka*, etc.

The other tale has to do with a talking Sāman. For even the metres are personified. They marry and have children, in the form of horse, goat, and sheep. This is suprising, even to a Hindu, and not every one knows it. But "he who does know it understands the voice of animals," 10. 2. 4–7. This is because the metres are a form of the divine Word, 18. 8. 3. The Word itself was revealed to (swam up to, *upāplavat*) the Niṣkirīyas as they were holding a session, without recognizing the third day, and showed them the proper way to hold the sacrifice, by singing in person the suitable Sāman 12. 5. 14 (S. says that Niṣkirīya is either a sect, *śākhā*, name, or a family name).

So it occasions no wonder to hear at 13. 10. 8 that "the Sāman (tune) called Vāravantīya became revealed[1] to Keśin Dālbhya and said to him; "Unskilled singers, *agāturaḷ*, sing me. Let them not (as chaunters) sing with me as their Sāman." He said: "Sir, how shall your melody be?" "I am to be just (softly) sung; as if one sang (softly), so, to give support, let one sing." It recognized Alamma Pārijānata lying behind the axle and (softly) singing this melody (*āga*) and said to him: "Thee will I set before" (the other priests). They said to him: "Who forsooth is this man? For what is he fit (*alam*)?" "Fit for me" (*alam ma, iti*), said the Sāman, and that is the etymology of Alamma."[2]

[1] Here *āvir abhavat*. Usually the saint "sees" the chaunt, rite, verse, etc.

[2] Literally, *alam nu vāi mahyam iti*, somewhat injuring the pun, but so preserved in JUB. 3. 31. 10. Compare the use of *alam* in 21. 3. 3.

The method of singing is naturally an object of great concern to the author of the chaunters' Brāhmaṇa; but the elucidations given are not very lucid. One is to sing the Yajñāyajñīyam "as an ox urinates," *yathā 'naḍvān prasravayamāṇa ittham iva ca 'ttham iva ca* (crookedly; with breaks, as deictically shown), 8. 7. 4; or, again, the Svadhūr Vāmadevya is to be sung "as a cat[1] carries her sons with her teeth but without breaking (the skin), as wind blows lightly over water," 7. 9. 11 (compare JUB. 1. 2. 4, *gāyatram . . . vāyoś cā 'pāṁ cā 'nu vartma geyam*, "according tho the course of wind and water," and compare ib. 1. 52. 9 (eight *āgas*). In 9. 3. 7, there is a general rule: *yad arvāk stuvanti tad astutaṁ, yat samprati stuvanti tat stutaṁ, yad atiṣṭuvanti tat suṣṭutam*, from which it would appear that an "over-laud" (exceeding the proper number of syllables) would be regarded as correct; but the context shows that *su* is meant in the sense "too" (blameworthy).

The strenuous theology of the day is paralleled by the severe methods taken to establish truth. Faith is not always to be found. "Vatsaprī Bhālandana," it is said at 12. 11. 25, "found not faith. He practised austerity. He saw this Vātsapra (Sāman). He found faith. Verily they enter upon the session saying "May we find faith," and (by praising with the Sāman) one finds faith."[2] As Vatsaprī, in TS. 5. 2. 1. 6, is said to have won "Agni's dear place," the faith lacking may have been (as usual) in Indra, or in the efficacy of the chaunt. Vātaspra is the name of the hymn used in worship of the fire-shovel Agni (*āukhya*), RV. 10. 45.

The Brāhmaṇa contains one clear case of fire-ordeal. Vatsa Kāṇva was reproached by Medhātithi, his brother Kāṇva, with being "no

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yo 'lam annādyāya sann athā 'nnaṁ na' dyāt; so 18. 5. 8, *alaṁ grāmāya*; but in 18. 5. 9. *alam prajāyāḥ*! The words as well as the action show that *puras tvā dadhu iti* means "make thee foremost," or, as in the Upaniṣad, prefer him to the other (Kuru-Pañcāla) priests. It is significant that Sāyaṇa says the words mean "put yourself in front of the *ratha*" (as compared with the priests at the sides). *i. e.* he reads *puras t(v)ād adhāḥ*, supplies the chariot, and regards *adhāḥ* as injunctive (equal to *ātmānaṁ dhāraya*). Keśin Dārbhya is the TS. form. 2. 6. 2. 3. This same Alamma has already been mentioned as engaged in conversation with Rajana Kāṇeya (cf. TS. 2. 3. 8. 1) in regard to Ārya Māḷya 's method of recitation. 13. 4. 11. The son of R.K., viz. Ugradeva Rājani, is also quoted. He was a leper. *kilāsa*. 14. 3. 17; 23. 16. 11; TĀ. 5. 4. 12.

[1] Here and elsewhere the usual word for cat. *mārjāra*, is not used, but *aṅkuḷī* (here) and *vṛṣadaṁśa*, 8. 2. 2.

[2] Perhaps *vindante* should be read. "they do find faith."

Brāhman, (but) the son of a slave-woman." Vatsa replies as a matter of course: "Let us walk through fire in the regular way (to see) whether of us two is the better Brahman." Having said this, and chaunting his own (Vātsa) Sāman, "Vatsa passed through, and not a hair of him was burned," 14. 6. 6. The expression used is formulaic (cf. TS. 2. 5. 8. 3, *yataro nāu brahmīyān*).

What became of Medhātithi the passage does not say; only that he also walked through the fire, chaunting his own (Māidhātitha) Sāman; but in 15. 10. 11, the same saint by means of the same Sāman is said to have procured cows with strong udders, out of the (demon called) "split rock" (? see note).[1]

The most interesting Kāṇva Sāman is that invented by Kaṇva himself. He once chaunted a Sāman without any effect till he overheard a cat sneezing. That gave him the cue and he added the sneeze-sound, *aṣ* (*aṣ-kāra-nidhanam*), which is efficacious in witchcraft, 8. 1. 1; 2. 2: one of the earliest examples of the good-luck sneeze.[2]

[1] The text has *etena vai Medhātithiḥ Kāṇvo Vibhindukād vyūdhnīr gā udasyjata*, and S. says (as translated above): *vibhedanaśīlād etatsaṁjñakād asurād vyūdhnīr vivṛddhodhaskā gā udasyjata, udagamayat*. The word *vyūdhnī* occurs only here, and Vibhinduka is unknown as a demon. On the other hand, as Vibhindu is a man who gave cows to Medhatithi Kāṇva, RV. 8. 2. 41, and, in JB. 3. 233, Medhātithi is the "house-lord," who holds a sacrificial session with this same Māidhātitha Sāman for the Vibhindukīyas, to get cattle (text, JAOS. 18. 38), it is possible that the text above is corrupt (perhaps *Vibhindukīyebhyo* or *Vaibhinduko dvyūdhnīr*; cf. *tryudhā*). The verb does not need an ablative; cf. 23. 15. 2, *ādityaḥ . . paśūn udasyjanta*; *paśūn . . utsyjanti* (= *labhante*).

[2] Apropos: The danger of inauspicious sounds, on the other hand, is so great that the holy texts are altered to avoid them. For example, as *girā girā* might suggest the "swallowing" of the chaunter, these words are pronounced *irā irā*, which are auspicious, 8. 6. 8–9 (with commentary on *girā* and *gariṣyati*); and the dangerous use of a negative is to be avoided by changing *na* to *nu* or even to *su*, in *na śaṅsiṣam*, RV. 6. 48. 1, and "thus the singer becomes the better for his chaunt," 8. 6. 12. Onomatopoetica, like *aṣ* for sneezing, abound. Thus *hiṅ* is the grunt of cattle, 12. 10. 14; *hīṣ* is the sound of rain, 8. 8. 19; *aṭ* is the note of a frog, 12. 4. 16. Besides these, the ordinary language is but slightly changed to produce a Sāman effect, as when Prajāpati's call to his cattle is given (as the Śruddhya Sāman) *śrudhi-ya, chi-yā*, 15. 5. 35, etc. Compare this *stobha* (of the Mahāvāiśvāmitra, "whereby gods removed ill,") *hā yā ihā yā uhā* (*iti, paśūn eva'itena nyāmhanta*, 13. 6. 13. The *hiṅ* grunt has become a sacred syllable of greeting, like *huṁmā*, 12. 10. 13 (7. 10. 15).

Still another Kāṇva, Devātithi, invented the *Dāivātitha Sāman*, and by it turned pumpkins into cows, as he and his son were wandering half starved in the desert, 9. 2. 19, which leads to the observation that the desert life of the saints is not always matter of accident. The same sectarian hatred appears here as was noticed above in the attack of one set of priests on another. No other historical foundation than that of present possibility underlies stories such as that in 8. 5. 9: "As Śyāvāśva, the son of Arcanānas was conducting a sacrificial session, they ("other priestly sacrificers," says the commentator) dragged him off to the desert. He (in his thirst) beheld the (Śyāvāśva) Sāman and by its means produced rain and so got a firm support (foundation) and found a refuge (*gatu*). Verily this Sāman is one that finds a refuge for the worshiper)." The two seers an Vedic worthies, AV. 18. 3. 15.

But there is worse to record of these good saints. "As Nṛmedhas (sic) the Āṅgirasa was in sacrificial session, they set dogs on him: but he took refuge with Agni ('Protect us, O Agni,' RV. 8. 60. 9) and (Agni) Vāiśvānara appeared to him (*paryudatiṣṭhat*). Then verily he got a firm support, then he found a refuge (in the Nārmedha Sāman)," 8. 8. 22.[1] The same expression is used in 15. 3. 7 of Bharadvāja "finding a refuge" by means of the Sāman called Bharadvāja's *adārasṛt*. His patron was Divodāsa and when this king was hard beset by several peoples, he entreated Bharadvāja, his chaplain, "O seer, find me a refuge." He invented the *adārasṛt* (meaning, as explained, "we have not got into a hole"), and thereby brought the king to safety (the Sāman is *gātuvit*).[2]

One of these Āṅgirasa saints, Yuktāśva, exchanged[3] two children at birth. Hence his mantra (Vedic knowledge) left him. But it returned after he had practiced austerity and discovered the Yāuktāśva

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which has magical effect, producing seed, etc. 8. 7. 13; *jātam* (*agnim*) *hiṅkaroti*. 12. 10. 13; *sakṛd dhiṅkṛtena śirasā parāca stuvate* (*udgātāraḥ*), 5. 1. 5; *dvir avanarded hiṅkuryāt tṛtīyam . . hiṅkāro vai gāyatrasya pratihāraḥ*, 7. 1. 2. It is the "tenth breath," 6. 8. 3; equal to Prajāpati, 6. 8. 5.

[1] In TS. 2. 5. 8. 3 (above), Nṛmedha (sic) is not so fortunate with fire as is his rival Parucchepa (he cannot kindle it).

[2] The Bhāradvājāyanas are cited as sacrificial authorities, 10. 12. 1. "They asked the Bh. what they made (did, gained), on each of the six days of a rite, and the reply is in mystic words, *prāi'vāi'ma*; *avasam evā 'kurmahi*; *pary evā 'plavāmahi*; *satāi'va sad apyadadhma* [got the reward of (established?) the rite by knowledge]; *prāṇān eva vi chindanta āi'ma*; *idam evā 'gacchama*.

[3] S. renders *viparyaharat* by *vadhitavān*, "caused to be killed."

Sāman, for that was his wish when chanting it, and this Sāman fulfills wishes, 11. 8. 8.

Two other Aṅgirasas deserve to be mentioned because they appear in TS. 7. 1. 4. 1, where it is said that Haviṣmat and Haviṣkṛt were two Aṅgirasas who were left behind when the others went to heaven, but the two by means of a two-night rite succeeded in following them. In almost the same words it is said (PB.) 20. 11. 3–6 that "the Aṅgirasas went to heaven, but Haviṣmat and Haviṣkṛt were left. The two went to the place where the Aṅgirasas had gone to heaven and practised austerity. They saw their two Sāmans and with them performed a two-night rite and so went to heaven. A worthy man who, so to speak, gets left, *pāuṃsyo hīna iva*, should sacrifice with this rite. He gets an advantage over his predecessors, *āpnoti pūrveṣām prahām*, as did the two Aṅgirasas. One who desires children should sacrifice with this rite, for children are one's second self; and one who desires to go to heaven should practise this rite, for the farthest world is accessible from the second (intermediate) world. Hard to attain, they say (are heaven and) the rite of two days, *dvitīyaṁ hy etad yat prajā . . . dvitīyād dhi lokāt paro loko 'bhiprakramyo, dūrādho dvirātra ity āhuḥ*." The Sāman is a peg by which to secure the day of the rite, for "with a peg one secures what is not secure," it is said in a second account of these same saints, at 11. 10. 8–11, where it is asserted that one of them succeeded on the second day of a twelve-night rite and one on the ninth day, with the Sāmans called Hāviṣmata (and Hāviskṛta, Comm.). The same figure is employed at 12. 9. 16, only the insecure is here made secure with a rein instead of a peg, *vad vā adhṛtam abhīśunā* (*śaṅkunā*) *tad dādhāra*. As compared with the TS. version, the PB. version is later in having incorporated two stereotyped phrases ("went to the place where . . . had gone to heaven," and "secures an advantage"); cf. 17. 1. 1 and 16. 14. 2.

Who these Aṅgirasas were (fire-worshipers, or a clan-name) is not clear. But they are as common a *pousto* for a story as the "sons of Bhṛgu," with whom they sometimes exchange identity. The chief use made of them as a group is to set them off as saintly fire-worshipers against the ogres and other children of darkness, though they are also set against the children of the sun in a noble rivalry of holiness. Of the first sort, the following sections are a good example.[1]

[1] In 12. 9. 18, there is a (Sāman) caturṇidhanam Āṅgirasam and ib. 11. 10 the Kalyāṇa story (below).

In 12. 6. 7–12, the story of 8. 9. 1–5 is repeated with a variation. To begin with the latter: "Now comes the Hārivarṇa (Sāman). The demons were in these worlds. The gods drove them out from this (lower) world by saying *hariśriyam*; from the atmosphere, by saying *vi-rajasi*; from yonder (heavenly) world, by saying *dive-dive*. So whoever has this wisdom mounts up to these worlds after driving his rival out from them. Verily, Harivarṇa, desirous of cattle, saw this Sāman. By means of it he obtained for himself (created) a thousand cattle, and so it is a Sāman fitted for the growth of cattle. As the Āṅgirasas were going to heaven, ogres pursued them. Harivarṇa by means of this (Hārivarṇa Sāman) drove them off, and so it is a Sāman for the removal of ogres."[1]

In 12. 6. 7–12, the same Sāman introduces the story of Namuci (above, p. 47), who, as an ogre-shape, is also driven off by the final word of this Sāman, whereas the Aṅgiras story, as told above, appears here with the Tāiraścya Sāman as the means by which another Aṅgiras body drove off the ogres. "Now comes the Tāiraścya (Sāman). As the Aṅgirasas were going (read *yato*) to heaven, ogres pursued them. Tiraścī-Āṅgirasa by means of this (Tāiraścya Sāman) led them down (to destruction) sideways *(tiryak)*. Since he led them down sideways, therefore it is called *tairaścya*. Evil verily followed them.[2] They drove it off by means of the Tāiraścya (Sāman). One who praises with this Sāman drives off evil."[3]

It is not surprising in the "cow-walk rite" to find the animals sharing the benefit of the rite with the Aṅgirasas and Ādityas. "By it cows increased and multiplied; by it the Ādityas get a firm support in these worlds; and by it the Aṅgirasas went to heaven," 25. 16. 2. In 16. 12. 1, the two bodies of saints and Ādityas are represented as co-initiates and as contending for priority in reaching heaven. The Aṅgirasas proclaimed to the Ādityas the "morrow-pressing" *(śvaḥsutyā)* ceremony. The Ādityas saw the same sacrifice, but as an "immediate purchase." By purchasing Soma at once and electing Ayāsya as chaunter and lauding through him they got to heaven (in one day) while the Aṅgirasas got left. Further (ib. 4); they brought to Ayāsya as a sacrificial fee the sun

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[1] The three words used above are taken from RV. 8. 15. 4–7. Each word represents a completed verse.

[2] Stereotyped. *pāpmā vāva sa tān asacata (agṛhṇāt.* 13. 5. 23). S. seems to read *avas.* "down." *tān.* etc.

[3] Sāyaṇa takes *paryavāit* as "surrounded," but it was the overthrow which caused the appearance of the evil.

yonder, having made it a white horse. On receiving it he was prostrated, but he saw (discovered) the Āyāsyāni (Sāmans) and by means of them he recovered ("put himself together"; hence a white horse is the fee for the chaunter). These Āyāsyāni Sāmans are medicinal and purificatory at the *sadyaḥkrī* ceremony. But (16. 14. 2) the Aṅgirasas by means of a new ceremony, the *Aṅgirasām anukrī (ekāha)* subsequently caught up with the Ādityas. "He who gets left, *hīna*, and is secondary, as it were, *anujāvara iva*, should sacrifice with this rite. He gets the advantage over his predecessors" (as in the further verbal parallel below at 20. 11. 3–4). Compare too ŚB. 3. 5. 1. 13–19, for a longer version of this same story and the gift of the white horse. Here (as expressly emphasized in the ŚB., the Aṅgirasas served the Ādityas), though an Aṅgiras, or Āṅgirasa, Ayāsya serves the Ādityas. As an Āṅgirasa he appears in what seems to be the end of the same tale at 11. 8. 10: "Ayāsya the Aṅgirasa ate the food of the Ādityas as they were initiated. Sorrow attacked him. He practised austerity; he discovered the two Āyāsye (Sāmans) and therewith overcame his sorrow" (the same in 14. 3. 22, except for plural Sāmāni, and "he was prostrated and put himself together," as above).[1]

In another passage the Aṅgirasas appear as howling dervishes. They had a Sāman called the "United Yell of the Aṅgirasas," *Angirasam saṁkrośa*, and "with it the Aṅgirasas all yelled together and so got to heaven," 12. 3. 23 (compare "Indra's Yell," above, p. 54). Again, as a group, they use the *Ābhīka* ("nearby") Sāman and so (after previous sorrow) they recovered, for through this Sāman "it rained (wealth) upon them," 15. 9. 9.

There is a group of passages on the Aṅgirasas and Ādityas, more or less alike in that they connect the Ādityas with their proper number, which is twenty-one, on account of the sun[2] being the "twenty-first," in the familiar but ever amazing confusion of space and time which results in the conglomeration of "twelve months, five seasons, three worlds, and the sun as the twenty-first," 20. 5. 3; 21. 4. 7; 23. 17. 2; ŚB. 13. 1. 7. 3; TS. 5. 1. 10. 3; Ch. Up. 2. 10. 5, etc. For this reason, when the Ādityas and Aṅgirasas celebrate the rite of thirty-three nights, their respective shares in the

[1] In 21, this is introduced as *āyāsyaṁ tiraścīnanidhanam*. Ayāsya is a northerner in JUB. 2. 7. 2–8, his name meaning "mouth," ib. 2. 11. 8–9; Ch. Up. 1. 2. 12. An Āṅgirasa is a son of the Aṅgirasas.

[2] The sun supports the *ekaviṁśastoma*, the *talpa* (couch) of the gods. 10. 1. 12 (but cf. also 23. 4. 5. without reference to "twenty-one").

nights are twenty-one for the Ādityas and twelve for the Aṅgirasas, 24. 2. 2; cf. 23. 15. 3–6 (and 24. 12. 7), where their prosperity in this and yonder worlds is emphasized, and it is said that there are seven Ādityas (which Sāyaṇa takes to mean the seven suns, Āroga, Bhrāja, and others). In 25. 1. 3, and 2. 2, these two groups of beings get to heaven by a similar rite arranged differently, the Ādityas by having the *pṛṣṭhas* "in the middle," the Aṅgirasas "at the beginning" (hence food, identified with the *pṛṣṭhani* is beneficial "in the middle" and no where else than "from the mouth," *mukhāt* with *purastāt*, 25. 1. 4; 2. 3; 3. 3, etc.). Some of the Ādityas, however, succeed by a separate rite, as "the path, the way of the gods" is the so-called "path of Aryaman," described in 25. 12. 2–3, by which (*ayanam*) he got to heaven and now shines in the sky as "the reddest," *aruṇatama* (S. "he appears in the sky in the morning as the reddest"). Preceding this rite are the rites of Mitra-Varuṇa, and Indra-Agni, whereby they got to heaven, making three Sarasvatī sattras as opposed to one Dṛṣadvatī sattra (session).

It may be as well to devote at this point a few words to the Ādityas alone, since the mythology of this group is from the beginning very unclear. They have to do with healing; also with cattle, because cattle are grouped in sevens. If cattle are taken by force, an offering is made to the (forceful) god Indra; if they go blind, an offering is made to the sun as chief Āditya and god of light, 21. 14. 15 and 18. The sun cures leprosy, since he is the "pure" one, 15. 5. 9; 23. 16. 8–10 (cf. 2. 17. 3). In 16. 13. 3, the sun is "vital breath"; he who is sick is sick in breath and they cure him with the threefold stoma, which is breath (homœopathy). The village animals and the Ādityas are each seven, and so the Ādityas are cattle, 23. 15. 2–6. But they are also all creatures, or rather all creatures born of Prajāpati are Ādityas, 13. 9. 5 = 18. 8. 13; TB. 1. 8. 8. 1. The night-rites often have to do with the Ādityas. "By means of the rite of the thirty-six nights the gods established the Ādityas, and this rite is especially for those who wish for cattle, while those who practise it win the Āditya-world," 24. 5. 2, since "he who gets a multitude of cattle gets therewith independent sovereignty" (characteristic of Ādityas, especially of Indra), ib. 3. The Ādityas, as already implied, are represented as "thriving by pairs," as in one of the forty-nine-night rites it is said *dvaṁdvam ārdhnuvan* ("they throve by pairs"), and so "the bliss of those practising such a rite is, as it were, doubled," *yame 'vāi 'ṣaṁ śrīḥ*, 24. 12. 3–4. The pairs are Mitra-Varuṇa, Dhātar and Aryaman, Aṁśa and Bhaga, Indra and Vivasvat, and those who worship them

thus get the prosperity of these divinities. They were originally (these) eight, but a verse (RV. 10. 72. 8) says that their mother Aditi threw away the sun (the eighth). The commentator says that only the principal Ādityas are meant, as it is well known that they are twelve in number (S. at 24. 12. 4). And elsewhere the text has this same statement. For the number of gods is reckoned as thirty-three, with Prajāpati as the thirty-fourth, 10. 1. 16; 12. 13. 24; 22. 7. 4–5; 24. 4. 3; or as thirty-three without including Prajāpati, 13. 12. 16; cf. 24. 1. 9–13, with a misquotation of RV. 8. 28. 1. Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth as when a horse is added to thirty-three cows as a fee, 17. 11. 4. In this regard, the Great Brāhmaṇa has a very remarkable statement, as compared with other ancient texts. In ŚB. 4. 5. 7. 2, for example, it is said that there are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, and heaven and earth, and as thirty-fourth, Prajāpati. In the same work, 11. 6. 3. 5, Indra and Prajāpati make the thirty-second and thirty-third. In TS. 3. 4. 9. 7, (after identifying phases of the moon with metres and the Vaṣatkāra with Dhātar, and Dhātar again with the moon) the author says, "The Vasus are eight (the Gāyatrī metre has eight syllables); the Rudras are eleven (the Triṣṭubh has eleven syllables); the Ādityas are twelve (the Jagatī has twelve syllables); the Anuṣṭubh (having thirty-two syllables represents) Prajapāti (as the thirty-second god); the Vaṣatkāra (represents) Dhātar. So all the metres are objects of devotion (as Devikās), and the Vaṣatkāra is all the divinities (Devatās)." In this passage the ceremonial call, *vaṣat*, is evidently reckoned as a thirty-third god, representative of Dhātar, who is elsewhere ranged among the thirty-three gods. Now according to the PB., although there is a formal admission that the gods do not vary in number, yet they not only have god-children (progeny) like men,[1] but even include as the thirty-third the Vaṣatkāra, so that the identification of TS. (above) has led to the actual substitution of this representative: "Three and thirty verily are the divinities, eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, and Prajāpati and Vaṣatkāra, the thirty-second and third," 6. 2. 5.[2]

[1] "There are just as many gods now as (when the Father-god created them) in the beginning," 6. 11. 16. On the other hand, "the gods were increased, *prajāyanta*, in progeny and in cattle," 22. 14. 5. But "cattle are not propagated in heaven," 20. 16. 7.

[2] The same inclusion is Puranic. It is as if Amen should represent a divinity and then become the divinity. In 8. 1. 2, Vaṣatkāra is (Indra's bolt) a "god-arrow," an expression used in MS. 1. 4. 13, of oblations. In

The Aṅgirasas are also linked with the Gandharvas and Apsarasas in one extremely moral tale. The Gandharvas (equivalent to gods, 20. 15. 2) are alluded to several times, but the Brāh. does not contain much that is of importance about them. Together with the Apsarasas they control the ability "and unability" to procreate, *prājāyā vā aprajastāyā ve 'śate*, and when sated and pleased at the Āupaśada ceremony they bestow progeny upon the sacrificer, 19. 3. 2. The Gandharva is addressed by the chaunter in 1. 3. 10 with the words *namo gandharvāya viśvagvādine, varcodhā asi, varco mayi dhehi.* As the sun or moon he gives lustre; but *viśvagvādin* seems to refer to him as a universal musician (cf. Svāna, "sound," as a Gandharva, VS. 4. 27, and the "chaunting sun," Ch. Up. 1. 3. 1). In 1. 4. 2. 7, Aṅghāri, Kṛśānu, and Bambhāri are mentioned. Viśvāvasu has already been referred to. He is the chief (VS. 2. 3; but not included among the seven, ib. 4. 27). The number of these beings is twenty-seven (VS. 9. 7) like that of the Nakṣatras, or asterisms, which in PB. 23. 23. 2–3 are supposed to hold rites. Of these one at least, Hasta, is both a Nakṣatra and a Gandharva. The three *gharma* divinities who (amorously) pursue Dawn are called Gandharvas, Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya, 20. 15. 3. Compare JUB. 3. 15. 7, and TS. 1. 5. 10. 2, where Agni is "the best Gandharva"; 1. 7. 7. 2, twenty-seven; 3. 4. 7. 1–3, Agni, as Gandharva, with plants as Apsarasas; Sūrya, as Gandharva, with rays as Apsarasas; the moon, as Gandharva, with the Nakṣatras[1] as Apsarasas (called musical, *bekuri*, as in PB. 1. 3. 1 of Vāc, etc.), a list that even includes Prajāpati, Parameṣṭhin, Death, and "sweet longing Love" as Gandharvas.

The moral tale uniting these worthies with the Aṅgirasas is as follows (12. 11. 10): "The Aṅgirasas verily held a sacrificial session and thereby their heavenly world was gained and won, but they did not know the path (to heaven), the way of the gods. One of them, the Āṅgirasa Kalyāṇa, went up (out of the house) to study, and

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the Great Epic, the Ādityas are Dhātar and Aryaman, Mitra and Varuṇa, Aṁśa and Bhaga, Indra and Vivasvat, Pūṣan and Tvaṣṭar, Parjanya and Viṣṇu, 1. 123. 60. The pairs are natural where the twelve months also are paired, *e. g. dvaṁ dvam ṛtavaḥ*, TS. 5. 4. 2. 1. The same epic passage gives twenty-seven Gandharvas and twenty-eight Apsarasas who dance, with eleven who sing (five more separately mentioned in 1. 65. 49). The Gandharvas of the epic are distinct from the gods, ib. 9. 42. 40.

[1] This is the view of ŚB. 9. 4. 1. 9, where Gandharva is the moon and the Apsarasas are Nakṣatras (stars).

came upon Ūrṇāyu, a Gandharva, swinging himself[1] in the midst of Apsarasas. Whenever this (Gandharva) indicated any one of the Apsarasas, saying "I would come to (her)," she desired him. He said to this (Kalyāṇa), "O Kalyāṇa, verily your heavenly world is gained and won; but you do not know the path, the way of the gods. Here is a Sāman conducive to heaven. By praising with it you will (all) get to heaven. But do not thou say, "I (Kalyāṇa) have discovered it." Kalyāṇa returned and said, "Verily our heavenly world is gained and won; but we do not know the path, the way of the gods. Here is a Sāman conducive to heaven. By praising with it we shall get to heaven." They said, "Who told you?" "Even I myself have discovered it," said he." Praising with this (Sāman) they came to heaven; but Kalyāṇa was left behind, for he spoke a lie. The leper here on earth is he." This finale means that the white leper, *śvitra*, is the reincarnated Kalyāṇa, i. e. this sage being left behind for his sin of lying becomes incorporate as a leper. In ĀB. 6. 33. 5, one who "murders speech" is cursed to be "weak," but it is doubtful whether *alasa* is "leper" (Haug), and the murderer of speech is there not a liar but one who prevents another from uttering the holy words he is trying to say. Owing to his sin the Sāman is not named for Kalyāṇa, but bears the name Āurṇāyava.[2]

Unimportant Āṅgirasas, who only "saw heaven" or "got a thousand cattle," are Dāvasu and Karṇaśravas, same tale of each, 13. 11. 14; 15. 5. 14; Śnuṣṭi, 13. 11. 22; Suhavi, 14. 5. 26; Śammat, 15. 5. 11. The seer called Go "escaped all ill," 16. 7. 7; Vyaśva, 14. 10. 9, saw heaven, as did Babhru Kāumbhya (*gotra* name), 15. 3. 13, 26. Paṣṭhavāṭ, an Āṅgirasa, had the remarkable experience of hearing the fourth day of a rite speaking (on the third day) and invoking with "Ho! the voice," in the form (*hā-u-vā, ho-vā*, leaving off *g* of *vāg*!), 12. 5. 11. In 25. 14. 5, Tura, *devamuni*, deserves notice for his epithet. Kruñ, 13. 9. 11; 11. 20, is probably invented for the occasion (*Krāuñca*). The "horse" names (of the

[1] Rather a sign of dalliance than of greatness, though in 5. 5. 10 it is said that "when greatness comes to people then they mount swings," (cf. Kāṭh. 34. 5). of the *hotar's* ascent to the swing (*yadā vāi prajā maha āviśati prāṅkhāṅs tarhy ārohanti*). S. understands that K. went "up" (into the air), but *udavrajat* is "went out" (to study).

[2] Ūrṇāyu (the "woolly one") reappears again in the epic. 1. 123. 55 f. This is an epithet of "Varuṇa's *nābhi*" in VS. 13. 50. In the Rāmāyaṇa the daughter of Ūrṇāyu is Somadā. PW. and pw. erroneously give Kalyāṇa for this place as the name of a Gandharva.

West? cf. Sindhukṣit, above) include the Vedic Vadhryaśva, called Anūpa, 13. 3. 17. In ĀS. 1. 32, "Bāudhāyana" should be Bhāuvāyana (above, p. 55) and the name "Ekayāvā Gāṁdama [Kāṁdama in TB. 2. 7. 11. 2] Vetasvatī" should omit the *Vetasvatī* (*'ṣṭvā* place locative, 21. 14. 20). It may be added that the inventors of Sāmans include such worthies as Manu, whose word is curative, 23. 16. 7 (cf. TS. 2. 2. 10. 2; 4. 5. 10. 2) and whose verses are the kindling-verses, ib. 6. He discovered the Mānava Sāman and thereby "got progeny and greatness," 13. 3. 15. Also the Atharvans "saw the immortal world" through the Atharvaṇa Sāman (8. 2. 6; cf. 12. 9. 10; 16. 10. 10, *bheṣajam*). Among the later authorities are cited the Bhāllavis, whose "repetitive recitation" (*parivartinī viṣṭuti*) has ensured their perpetual prosperity, *Bhāllavayaḥ . . pratigṛhṇantaḥ parīvartān na cyavante*, 2. 2. 4 (a sect name). Each Sāman, it may be added, gives to the present praiser the same power with which it endowed the inventor (seer). This is usually expressed by saying that it is (now) a wish-fulfiller, or that one (now) using it gets the same reward as of old. Only once does the seer especially provide that others shall profit by his discovery. Aṣṭādaṅṣṭra, the son of Virūpa, grew old without a son, without progeny. He thought he had rent these worlds (*imān lokān vicichidivān amanyata*, i. e. had almost pierced them and gone to heaven). In his old age he saw the two Sāmans (called by his name). He feared he could not employ them (properly), and said "He shall prosper who lauds for me with these Sāmans," 8. 9. 21 (uses the Sāmans with the discoverer's name attached).

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COMMUNICATIONS FROM SPANISH CANCIONEROS

H. R. LANG

III.—Communications from Spanish Cancioneros.

I.

The Works of Juan de Valtierra.

The poems of Juan de Valtierra are preserved, with one exception so far as now known,[1] exclusively in the cancionero of the Royal Library at Madrid which bears the mark 2–F–5 (antiguo vii–A–3), but which will here be termed X[1] in order to distinguish it from a number of other manuscripts bearing the same signature 2–F–5.[2] In the index of the contents of this collection offered in the Cancionero de Baena (O), p. lxxxvi, and copied in Ticknor-Julius ii 526, ten compositions are assigned to Valtierra, while Amador de los Rios (Historia 6, 464, note 2) credits him with only eight, two in Castilian and six in Catalan. More accurate, as might be expected, is the information furnished by Milá y Fontanals (Obras completas, 3, 193, note): Valtierra, del qual en un cansoner castellá hi ha nou obras anomenadas *canciones* y *dezires*, sis d'ellas en catalá, una ab lo títol de "Via fora sacramental," y altre ab lo de "la confessió." Though pointed out by these Spanish critics, the Catalan texts of our cancionero are not mentioned by J. Massó Torrents in his Manuscritos catalanes de la Biblioteca de S. M. (1888).[3] In the partial edition of X[1] by Perez Gomez Nieva (hereafter referred to by Nieva),[4] the uncritical character of which need not occupy us here,[5] the poems in Catalan are not included, though the existence of those by Valtierra is referred to (p. 293) in a foot-note to the three other songs of this writer. In view, therefore, of the fact that the Catalan compositions of Valtierra are still practically un-

[1] This is the Catalan poem found in the Cancionero de Zaragoza (hereafter designated CZ) fol. 116, and printed on p. 68 of the edition by Baselga y Ramirez (Zaragoza 1896).

[2] Regarding the designation X[1], first adopted by Mussafia, Per la bibliografia dei Cancioneros spagnuoli, see my Cancionero Gallego-Castelhano p. 276, and Revue Hispanique 16, 296 ff.

[3] Cf. the *Nota adicional* p. 33.

[4] Colección de poesías de un Cancionero inédito del siglo xv etc. Madrid 1884.

[5] See the review of this publication by Morel-Fatio in Revue Critique 1885, p. 491.

known,[1] and that those in Castilian are printed in Nieva in a most defective manner, I have thought it fitting to present here a first edition of them,[2] based upon a copy made by me last summer, not so much because of any superior æsthetical merit they can claim over much of the contemporary verse, but because, like the very collection itself in which they have come down to us, they bear testimony to that unity of literary interests of the three nations of the Spanish Peninsula in the fifteenth century which resulted in the formation of a new and truly national lyric style.[3] This aspect of Valtierra's art will gain in point if we consider that one of his songs appears to have been composed in the Galician idiom.[4]

Very little is known of Juan de Valtierra further than that he was a native of Navarre, and a squire by profession, who lived in the first half of the fifteenth century.[5] In 1425 we find him as one of the witnesses to the compact between Castile and Aragon, by virtue of which the Infante D. Enrique was set free by his brother D. Juan, King of Navarre.[6]

In addition to the verse of Valtierra, I shall publish here a hitherto unnoticed Catalan composition by Pedro de Santa Fé,—the only other Catalan text contained in our cancionero—which shows that this Aragonese poet, represented in the same manuscript by thirty-six compositions in Castilian and two in Galician,[7] also attuned three languages to his lyre.

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[1] I have unfortunately not been able to consult the Biblioteca del "Ateneo Barcelonés." Cataleg dels manuscrits format per J. Massó Torrents 1902.

[2] I have omitted one *cançion*, consisting of an estribillo and one stanza, which in our ms. stands on fol. 69 v°, immediately after no. vi of this article, but which in the CZ. fol. 108 v. (p. 56–7) and the Cançoner d'Amor of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (No. 595, fol. 94 v°), where it has five stanzas, is more correctly assigned to Luis de Vilarasa. Cf. Milá y Fontanals, Obras 3, p. 175.—A comparison of our text with that of the CZ. shows the following variations: 2 que *omitted*—los que leal a. 3 digan—quants me nomeraran 4 Requiscat 6 non—viura y ma mort 8 dons—pus l. m. 9 que r. non d. puys—amant 10 huylls 11 prop que per mi dir poran.

[3] Cf. Canc. Gall.-Castelh. p. xvi.

[4] See below the note to no. ii of this article.

[5] See Amador de los Rios, Historia 6, p. 474; Milá, Obras 3. 193.—The only personage by the name of Valtierra mentioned in Latassa. Biblioteca de escritores aragoneses (Zaragoza 1884–6) is Bishop Juan de Valtierra, who died in 1433.

[6] Zurita, Anales de Aragon, vol. iii, año 1425, c. 38.

[7] See Canc. Gall.-Castelh. nos. lxii and lxiii.

Valtierra.

I.

fol. 67.

Duenya, pobre de merçe
por qual raçon quieres matar
a mi que siervo sin cansar?
Pues no te fiç lo porque,
dame raçon que no la-y se.

Si dices que tu boluntat
no es dispuesta a satisfer
a mi deseo e querer
porque muestres amistad,
Senyora, jurote en mi ffe
que, sino me quies contentar,
que me faras desesperar.
Pues no te fiçe lo porque,
dame raçon que no la-y se.

Creces me estrema dolor
con que me quiero ya morir,
cuando te oyo siempre dir
que me amas de fino amor.
A triste, no me quexare
que mi bien me quieres vedar,
piensa que me fazes penar.
Pues no te fiçe lo porque,
dame raçon que no la-y se.

Si demando sinraçon,
tu seas iuge et parte,
mienbreste que amor sin arte
siempre quiere gualardon.
Si me lo das, loart' e.
Aquel que suelgo demandar
ffaz, que me pueda millorar.
Pues no te fiçe lo porque,
dame raçon que no la-y se.

4, 14 layse

II.

fol. 67 v°. Otra.

Amor, mi triste partida
me faç con dolor bebir,
sento e veo que morir
me conviene, pues es partida
la que tenya mi vida.
E pues ella asi feneçe,
llamar pues perteneçe:
Deus meus, quare me derelinquisti?

Pues perdi por mi fortuna
la que ventura me dio,
grito et llamo: Quien so yo,
que mi dolor no es una?
Por amar a sola una
passo mal sin mereçer,
por honde posso dicer:
Infixus sum in limbo de profundis.

Ya del todo so guiado
a perdiçion muy cruel,
como el pueblo de Israel
que de ley es apartado.
pues servir sin haber grado
alla por qui so en pena,
dize 'l alma que es en pena;
In infierno nulla est redençio.

Ffinida.

Mas bella que Pollixena.
me fae ser desterrado,
ara del todo apartado
de su vista por axena.

III.

fol. 162 v°. Otra.

Enojados de tristura
venit que yo vos dare plazer,

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33 sente. 47 sunt—frofundis. Sunt *is also the reading of Ms.* 3763 *of the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.* 47 jūcado: ms. 3763 (= *vol.* 8) *of the B. Nacional*: guiado. *Read*: juzgado? 52 *Read*: haya? 53 en poder.

ffervos e mirar e beer
una linda creatura.

De muy nueba alegria
alegra a los que la veen;
en veyendo, luego creen
que merece senyoria.
Mirando su hermosura,
creceles seso, saber,
con que puedan conoçer
todo el bien que en ella atura.

Que gracia e [que] valor
muestra su gesto donoso!
El mirar muy agradoso
lleno de mucho amor.
Muchos cabos si atura
quieren la obedecer,
quien se poria tener
que fallase tal bentura?

Reyna es de las mejores,
y del mundo mas amada,
donosa, muy asesada,
quita de banos amores.
Dios d'amor, d'otra no cura!

Fin.

Bien lo muestra su poder,
pues la faze floreçer
sobre todas, sin mesura.

Dezir.

IV.

fol. 68.

Pau sia ab vos e ab tot lo restant,
car ia no puch passar mes ab spera,
perdent mon temps de que ia desespera
ma voluntat quius soli' amar tant,
e pus no veig que vaia millorant
lo temps per mi, es raho que-m retraga

84 sin p. 90 mia v.

de vos amar, e finara mon plant.
Servir amor pigor mal es que plaga.

Amor, no-m pens que-m vai' ambaraçant
per vos servir ne fer lo que solia
car yous conech e veig qu'es grant folia
ffer res per vos si matex turmentant,
ab altri-m pens farets lo joch volant.
. . . . . .

Mes am partir que restar congoxant,
car lo pensar fa mudar mas semblança
qui-m ve per vos de que pert l'asperança
de nunqua aver ço don suy desirant,
e aia prou mon fet anat rodant,
quel cap me dol con pens curar la plaga,
que lonch temps he desijada esperant.
Servir amor pigior mal es que plaga.

De uos me part, amor, no resturant
cun grant engan jus vostre nom s'amaga;
hoian mon dit los quius van encalçant:
Servir amor pigior mal es que plaga.

Dezir.

fol. 68 v°. V.

Via fora sagramental!
que robat m'an en lo cami,
lla sus al pla de sot un pi,
lo cor sens pus que no-y mir mal.

Haguessen me almenys portat
lla hon es pres mon trist de cor
e yo callara que robat
non jutgara per ma honor;
ara, catiu, pux dir qu' aytal
som com l'auçell quj cap no te,
per que-'b sospir yo cridare:
Via fora sagramental!

O mur gentil desta ciutat!
Vullau m'ayudar per cortesia,

---

after l. 99 three lines seem to be lacking.

car dins vos es qui m' a forçat
lo cor sortir sens companya;
e si nou feu viure non cal
destoravan si ja merçe
ella nom ha, de çert morre,
Via fora [sagramental]!

Moltes merçes, en pi donos!
car hombra bona m'aueu fet,
y al mur molt mes sin fa defet,
e çent mil tants, senyor, a uos!

VI.

fol. 69. Lo Confessio.

Lo pecador.

O domine, per vostra fe,
hoiau me tost de confesio,
pus frare sou de religio,
ar' ascoltau!

Lo pecador.

Yo am sens pus una de cor
dots anys ha ia,
e sentiment de ma dolor
ella no ha.
Veiau, sius plau, mon fet com va,
e dau mi prest qualque consell,
e dau lo-m tal que-m haiut dell,
si a vos plau.

Lo pecador.

Veiau, mon fill, yo queus dire,
vos siau cert,
que l'om que tal dolor soste
james no-s pert
qu'axin reconta Sent Lembert.
Mes yous dire vos que fareu,
y aureu remey, yo fiu de deu,
ab queu façau.

126 forçar 139 arastoltau 146 lo me—haint *After line* 147 *we must read* confesor *in place of* pecador. *The Confessor following again after line* 155, *we must assume the loss of one stanza belonging to the sinner.* 151 jamy

Lo confesor.

Com vos veiau que-y haia,
digau lo-y clar,
e si vos veu quen prem per ioch,
deueu jurar;
que çertament vos fa penar
e que s'amor vos fa sentir
tant fort dolor queus fa morir,
axi cuytau.

Tornada.
[Lo pecador.]

Moltes merçes, en fra menor,
pel bon consell que-m haueu dat,
eus iur que tost sera provat.
A deu siau.

VII.

fol. 69 v°. Cançion.

Qui-n pert son temps en ben amar,
en part hon son servir val poch,
d'aquest tan descominal ioch,
si dan li-n ve, nous deu clamar,
puys el mateix lo-s va çerquar.

O qui deu plany[e]r ma dolor,
ni dol res un punt de mon mal!
Morir vull en un pobre ostal,
nengu no oia ma clamor.
Dexau, dexau, dexau m'estar,
car be-m tinch per vil et badoch;
ma vida ja non preu un coch,
mon remey es desesperar,
pus res no pot aconortar.

VIII.

fol. 70. Dezir.

Ja no puch cobrir, trist de mi,
lo grant turment que-m fa passar

171 nons 172 los va *written in later hand*; cerquat 173 den
179 ⊙za v.—pren u. c. 183 quen f. p.

cella que-m ha de fi en fi,
car son voler he vist mudar,
sens molt tardar
de ella amar
a mi del tot, per que doblar
me fa l'esmay
de plor et glay,
tant que en als no puch pensar.

Alguns diran per que no xant
segons solia ab bon conort;
mas com pore destorauant,
pus tan cruel es la mia sort
que sens conort
liurat a mort
m'a volgut cella que vull pus fort
qu'a mi mateix?
Per que feneix
tot mon ris, xantar et deport.

Destresa, força ni saber,
llas mesqui, ia non val.
car sent catiu lo meu voler
en iloch cruel et desegual.
Veus mon cabal
con es egual
per ben amar e ser leal!
Que val cridar
ne sospirar,
car en breu esper mort final?

fol. 70. De rich son tornat pubil
pus he perdut mon sentiment,
per que morir gens non dol
la mort no tinch en vil,
sino con muyr tan desto
trist e dolent
ab tal turment

184 quen han 194 pere-. *It is not quite clear whether the textual reading* is destorauant (*cf.* 129) *or* destarauant. 195 *Read* ma *for the tonic* mia? 198 volgunt 203 *Two syllables wanting* 214 *and* 215 *form one line.*

sens culpa qu'en mi, llas, no sent,
o mal fadat,
mala fim
puys

IX.

fol. 70 v⁰. Cançion.

Res en lo mon non ame tant
com fas a uos qui sou mon ve,
donchs sia de vuestra merçe
que no-m fassau anar rodant.

L'enuig, la pena e dolor
me tolen força e poder,
james pore plaser haver
ffins que de uos aia favor,
e no vullau vaia penant,
car tot so vostre et sere;
donchs sia de vostra merçe
que no-m fassau anar rodant.

Tornada.

A uos, a uos que del restant
sou la millor de quantas se,
donchs sia de vostra merçe
que no-m fassau anar rodant.
Que no-m fassau anar rodant,
a uos, a uos que del restant
[sou] la mellor de quantas se.

X.

fol. 169 v⁰. Santa Fe.

No siau tal pux conoxeu
que so mes vostre que no meu.

Dolor del cor me feu sentir
quan vinc de uos al departir,

---

234 son m. v 235 lo m. No. X. S̄ca ffe, *written to the right near the top of the page, and followed by a ligature which I do not understand and the reproduction of which is not practicable here.*

veiz que uos plau lo meu servir
ad altra part que be no voleu.

Ay senyora, si duptau
per que millor me conezau,
manau me ço que a uos plau,
car servidor me trobareu.

Notes.

I. 3 *siervo* for *sirvo* is found in other Spanish texts, e. g. Berceo, Missa 283; Fuero Juzgo 85, 87.

4 *fiç* and 13, 22, 29 *fiçe* are both current in Aragonese and Navarrese documents. Cf. Hanssen, Conjug. Arag. 1896, p. 19, and Menéndez Pidal, Manual (2 d ed.) 107, 4 b.

6 *voluntat* frequent in the sense of *corazon*. Cf. e. g. in our text the Catalan instances l. 89 and 185, 204 (*voler*). Conversely, *corazon* means "will," "desire," as e. g. in Old Portuguese, for which see Denis, p. 120 and s. v. *coraçom*.

25 *iuge* for *juez* is one of the numerous French loan-words occurring in Navarrese.

28 *loar'e = loar-te-he*. cf. 61 *ffervos e*.

29 *Suelgo* from *soler* is met with elsewhere in Old Spanish, as in Libro de Alixandre (ed. Morel-Fatio), c. 380, b.

30 *millorar*. Forms with *ll* for Castilian *j* are regular in Navarre, Aragon, and Catalonia. See *fill* in l. 148 and *millor* in l. 236 of our text.

Rhyme-order: abbaa; cddcabb AA, with the two last lines of the estribillo repeated as refrain. The same form occurs in M, p. 258–9, but neither elsewhere in Nieva, nor in O.

II. 46 In view of the forms *posso dicer*, which are not used in Navarre and Aragon, so far as I know, one may be inclined to agree with Mrs. Vasconcellos (Zeitschrift für roman. Philol. 28, 213) in considering this poem as originally composed in Galician, and consequently entitled to a place in my *Cancioneiro Gallego-Castelhano*, an opinion which is supported by *sento* for *siento* in l. 33 and the form *conviene* in l. 34 which disturbs the metre. Unfortunately, the very unsatisfactory condition of the text, due no doubt largely to the ignorance of the copyist, but to some extent probably also to the author's

246 nos p. 247 que n. v. be.

imperfect command of the Western dialect, does not admit of a restoration of the supposed Galician original sufficiently correct to warrant more than a conjecture. This may be seen from the following attempt to divest the poem of its Castilian disguise:

Amor, ma triste partida
me faz con dolor viver,
sento e vejo que morrer
me conven, pois é partida
a que tiinna ma vida.
E pois ella assi fenece
chamar pois [me] pertenece:
Deus meus, quare me derelinquisti?

Pois perdi por ma fortuna
a que ventura me deu,
grito e chamo: Quen son eu,
que ma dolor non é ũa?
Por amar a sola ũa,
passo mal sen merecer,
por onde posso dizer:
Infixus sum in limbo de profundis.

Ja de todo so guiado
a perdiçon mui cruel,
como o povo de Israel
que da ley é apartado.
Pois servir sen aver grado
aja por quen son en pena,
diz a alma que é en pena:
In infierno nulla est redençio.

Fiida.

Mais bella que Pollixena
me fae seer desterrado,
ara de todo apartado
de sa vista por alhea.

As for *dicer*, it occurs in the Libro de Alexandre, c. 765, rhyming with *aduzer*; but the ms. 488 (ed. Morel-Fatio) has in the corresponding stanza 792 *dezir*.

52 *qui* for *quien* is current in documents of Aragon and Navarre.

53 The repetition of *pena* adopted here in place of the textual *poder* which satisfies neither rhyme nor sense, is justified by the

occurrence of similar *rims equívocs* in ll. 31, 34 and 39, 42, though the position is irregular in the third stanza.

56 *fae* for *faz* is met with in other Old-Spanish texts, as e. g. J. Ruiz 1466 both as 3d p. sing. pres. and as 2d p. imperative; also in Portuguese, as CGC., 462. Cf. Bausteine zur rom. Philol. p. 45.

57 *ara*, Catalan adverb. See e. g. Milá y Fontanals, Obras III, p. 542, and 139 of our text.

For the use of Latin scriptural quotations in secular lyrics see CGC. p. 169 the note to line 194 where the Latin quotation from St. Matthew 27, 46 is given in the original Hebrew version. Mrs. Vasconcellos (Zeitschrift 28, p. 213, 230–231 and Grundriss II, 2. p. 240) appears to be of the opinion that Macías (CGC. no. vii) set the example for closing each stanza with a Latin quotation and that Valtierra directly imitated the Galician singer. But this common manner is much older than Macías, as may be seen, e. g., in Du Méril, Poésies populaires latines antérieures au 12me siècle, p. 100–1, 170 ff.; 186.—Other instances may be found in Nieva p. 125–7; 167–9; CZ. p. 19–21, 56, 295–303.

Rhyme-order: abbaaccD; caac. This form is not found elsewhere, either in Nieva, in M (= Cancionero de Stuñiga) or in O.

III. 77 *poria*, Catalan form for *podria*.

Rhyme-order: abba; cddcabba; bba; *rims singulars*, as in the two preceding pieces. The third stanza is incomplete, lacking abb. Without a *fin*, we find this very common form Nieva p. 29; M, p. 261; O, no. 43 (= CGC. xlii); X^1, fol. 61 v^0. (= CGC. lx).

In the majority of cases contained in Nieva and M, the last two lines of each stanza are identical with those of the estribillo.

IV. A complaint and dismissal of Amor in the manner of a *comiat*. The same subject is treated Cançoner d'Amor fol. 182 (Ochoa, Catálogo p. 314–5; in O, no. 331 (= 533); 147 (= CGC. li); M, p. 332, 374, 385. For Provençal and Old Portuguese instances see *Denis* p. xlviii ff.

Rhyme-order: abbaacaC; acaC. Three coblas unissonans in iambic decasyllables with a refrain of one line.

V. 115 *que no-y mir mal*, without my deserving it (?) Cf. *mal merir* in Milá y Fontanals, Obras iii, p. 402.

145 For expressions like *cent mil tants* see my notes in CGC. p. 217 and Zeitschrift für roman. Philol. 32, 388, and the literature on this subject there cited.

Rhyme-order: abba; cdcdaeeA; fggf. Two *coblas unissonans* in iambic octosyllables.

VI. Debate between a friar and his confessor.

Rhyme-order: abbc; dedeeffc; ghhc. A cancion of three coblas with rims singulars, in iambic octosyllables with biocs of four-syllables.

The same theme is treated by Mossen Rodrigo Diez in CZ. p. 212:

Qui pert son temps es be horat
e ple de molta grosaria,
aço dich per lanemorat
qui desamat ama saymia.

Rhyme-order: abbaa; cddcabbaa. Esparça in iambic octosyllables. The same rhyme-order Nieva p. 30–31; 287–8; M p. 258–9, with the exception that in these cases the last two lines of each stanza are identical with those of the estribillo.

VIII. Love-poem in the mood of a descort.

206 For the sense of *mon cabal* see Milá y Fontanals, Obras III, 348, 355; CZ. p. 70: Merexedor de gran mal, Cuydau tenir gran caball Per saguir los fets damor; ibid. p. 212: Perdent tot iorn son bon cabal Horat es lom qui viu turbat.

Rhyme-order: ababbbbccb. Four stanzas, with rims singulars, in six iambic octosyllables and four biocs of four syllables.

The text of the fourth stanza I am unable to restore.

IX. Love-song of one stanza in iambic octosyllables, the last three lines of the tornada being identical with the first, second and fourth line of the first part.

Rhyme-order: abba; cddcabBA; abBAAAB.

X. Love-song of two stanzas in iambic octosyllables.

Rhyme-order: aa: bbba. As is well known, this is one of the oldest forms of the *cantiga* or *canción* we have in the Peninsula. Santa Fé uses it repeatedly in his Castilian verse, e. g. Nieva p. 209–210 and 210–211. Cf. also ibid. p. 96–98 and 227; M, p. 355, 372 and 385. In O it occurs nine times, nos. 2, 51, 141, 196, 203, 219, 251 b (= CGC. ii), 315 (= CGC. xiii) and 500, being designated *desfecha* or *estribote* in all but two cases (251 b and 500). Cf. the form aa; bbbAA, which is the prevailing one in the great variety of schemes employed by Alphonse X in his Cantigas de Santa Maria.

II.

The Cancionero de la Colombina at Seville.

During a brief stay at Seville a few years ago I availed myself of the opportunity to see what, if any, manuscript collections of the medieval Lyric of Spain existed in the Library of the Cathedral Chapter of that city, in which, as is well known, the invaluable treasure of codices and printed books gathered by Ferdinand Columbus has been deposited since 1550. Only one manuscript was found to contain a collection of courtly verse of the 15th century. This is the one bearing the signature E–AA. 144. 18, and quoted in the somewhat elementary catalogue of manuscripts under the title: *Poetas varios antiguos*.[1] This cancionero has been frequently referred to by the editors of the works of Gomez Manrique and Montoro,[2] as well as by other writers,[3] on the basis of an imperfect 18th century copy of it which exists in the Biblioteca Nacional (no. 13042 = antiguo Dd 61), but has apparently not been consulted by them.[1] In view of the fact that neither the Madrid copy nor the references of critics give a correct idea of the contents of this collection, I thought it useful, at the time, to prepare as

[1] The other three collections of verse, bearing respective the signatures 5. 3. 35 (antiguo 145. 10), 83. 3. (antiguo 141–5) and 7. 1. 19 (antiguo 141–55) coniain poetry of the 16th and 17th centuries.—As already stated in my description of Ms. 4114 (antiguo M. 320) of the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, shortly to appear in the Revue Hispanique, there is no evidence of the existence of any other manuscript cancionero of the 15th century in the Seville Library. Menéndez y Pelayo quotes no authority for his statement (Antología 6, p. clvii–viii), that the original of Ms. 3742 (antiguo 241) of the Biblioteca Nacional is still preserved in the Colombina.

[2] Amador de los Rios, Historia de la liter.española 6, 533; Vera é Isla, Traducción del Salmo L de David (1879) p. 113; Cotarelo y Mori, Canc. de A. de Montoro, p. xxv, 37 and 205; Uhagón, Revista de Archivos 1900, p. 392. Paz y Melia, Canc. de Gomez Manrique 1, p. xxxviii has the following to say about our codex: "También la Biblioteca Colombina *poseía* un códice con *muchas* poesías de nuestro autor, que he podido consultar por hallarse en la Biblioteca Nacional copia mandada sacar por el Padre Burriel." There are only two poems by Gomez Manrique in the collection.—The composition by Juan Alvarez Gato handed down in our manuscript (fol. 117 v°.) has remained unknown to so recent an investigator as Menéndez y Pelayo (Antología 6, p. xxxviii ff.) who also overlooked the two contained in ms. 4114 of the Biblioteca Nacional.—See also Mussafia, Per la bibliografia dei cancioneros spagnuoli, p. 2.

complete a description of it as circumstances would permit. It is this account which I give here in what follows:

The manuscript (29 × 20½ çm.) consists of 191 paper leaves much corroded by the action of the ink, and many of them with margins mended and partly replaced. It is written in the so-called *letra redonda* or *de juro* of the latter half of the 15th century, with the exception of folio 117, which is in a different, later hand (*letra cortesana*). The first 30 folios are unnumbered. Then follow 161 numerated leaves, all utilized but one (fol. 111 v⁰.), and including the cancionero proper. This numeration, in Arabic figures of a modern hand, and in red ink, corrects and supplies an older one in Roman figures of the 15th century, partly lost in mending the margins. The new numeration differs by ten folios from the old one, the change beginning with fol. 55 which is corrected in the index with red ink to 65. This difference is partly accounted for by the insertion, immediately after the index, of an anonymous love-song and two prose pieces not mentioned in the index and most probably not belonging to the original form of the cancionero. Here, then, we have an indication that the present compilation is the result of one or more alterations of an older collection. A similar indication lies in the fact that the index covers only the contents of fol. 1–111 r⁰., not even including Gomez Manrique's poem: Pues este negro morir, which begins in the middle of the second column of fol. 111 r⁰. As Manrique's composition follows without any break upon Juan de Mena's Canta tu, Cristiana musa, and fol. 111 v⁰. is blank, one might suppose that the copyist had simply overlooked the fact that a new poem began in the middle of fol. 111 r⁰. Considering, however, that Juan de Mena's *Laberinto*, occupying as it does over 40 folios, is also omitted in the index, one must conclude that the index was left incomplete. That the two pieces by Guevara and Montoro, and the one attributed to Juan Alvarez Gato, so far unedited and apparently unknown,[1] are later additions, is shown by the different hand in which they are written.

While it is evident, as has already been said, that our cancionero is the result of one or more alterations made on an older compilation, we have no data from which to infer what the original form was nor when it was changed. The two other collections (Biblioteca Nacional ms. 13042, and Brit. Mus. Egerton 939) which are

[1] It is neither included nor mentioned in Cotarelo y Mori's Cancionero inédito de Juan Alvarez Gato (Madrid 1901).

more or less closely related to our cancionero,[1] are little more than incomplete and defective copies of the 18th century, as may be gathered from the comparative table of the three collections given at the close of this article.

In the list of the contents which now follows, the text of the two poems of Gomez Manrique and of Juan de Mena's 'Canta tu, Christiana musa' is collated with the one found in the edition of Gomez Manrique's works by Paz y Melia, that of Montoro's compositions with the one contained in Cotarelo y Mori's edition.[2] It is hoped that other students will thus be spared the trouble of examining the *Cancionero de la Colombina* again. A similar collation would have been made of the poem by Perez de Guzman and of Mena's *Laberinto*, if other manuscript or printed versions of these two compositions had been accessible to me at the time. Owing to the defective condition of the manuscript, the preparation of a careful copy would have required more time than was available.[3]

30 folios, not numbered:

Tratado de San Agostin:

Libro de la Vida Christiana.

[cf. Gallardo, Ensayo II, App. p. 11.]

fol. 1. Aqui començan los proverbios del Marques de Santillana glosados por el dr. Pero dias, e començan despues de los proambulos que amos fisieron por los capitulos siguientes.

De amor e temor . . . . . a iiij
De prudencia e sabiduria . . . a xvii
De justicia . . . . . a xxv
De sobriedad . . . . . a xxix
De castidat . . . . . ha xxx
De fortaleça . . . . . a xxxviii
de liberalidat e franqueça . . . a xli
de verdat . . . . . a xliii
de continencia cerca de cobdicia a xliiij
de enbidia . . . . . a xlvii
de gratitut . . . . . a xlviii
de amiçiçia . . . . . a xlix

[1] Another ms. of the Biblioteca Nacional (M. 2, 249), dating from the 17th century, is a copy of nos. 1, 10, 15 of Montoro's poems.

[2] No account has been taken of such orthographic substitutions as *ç* for *ſ*, *gran* for *grand*, *-aba* for *-aua*, which Cotarelo regularly permits himself to introduce.

[3] A photographic copy of the poem of Perez de Guzman will be published at some later date.

de paternal reuerencia . . . . a l
de senetut . . . . . a lii
de la muerte . . . . . a liii

Un tratado que fiso el tostado de como es nescesario a ome amar E el que verdaderamente ama es nescesario que se turbe.

a lv (*corrected in red ink to* = 65)

Un tratado de seneca de rremedios contra fortuna

a lxiiij (= 73)

Una carta que enbio gomez manrrique a diego arias de avila contr. mayor del rrey sobre que non le quiso librar los mrs. q tenia en los libros del rrey. a lxvii (= 75)

Vicios e Virtudes de frnd peres de Guzman a lxxi (= 80)

Coplas de anton de montoro a xc (= 96)

Ynuocacion catolica que fiso Juan de mena que comiença canta tu xsti/na musa a xcix (= 105)

Tras esta foja esta escrita una epistola de sant bernaldo que enbio a Raimundo[1] sobre el rregimiento de la casa.

Y luego tras esto la ffe catolica.

fol. i v.—2 r. Aues brutos y saluajes,
todos arded a mi ruego;
Tantos umanos linajes
non se escusan deste fuego,
y a quien non resiste muro
de saber nin discrecion,
non dexa adarue seguro,
nil contrasta fierro duro
en que non faga oprisyon.

Natural inclinacion
pienso cobdicia a la vida,
mas dionos a la Rason
por anpara y por guarida;
ella quanto mas escoje
virtud y conformidad,
tanto causa que despoje,
donde quiera que se acoje
bien querer a libertad.

Pues amar a vos, señora,
toda vertud lo rrequiere
Pues que soes merescedora

[1] rrey mindo

del mejor que vos quisyere,
quiere rrason que vos quiera
quien vos conosce donsella,
ca a esto vos escogera
la virtud sy bien quisyera
aviendo de querer bella.

Pues sy discreta entendida
Syn punta de vana gloria
Vos fuerades escogida
para ganar esta gloria,
que quanto mas diligente
contenplo vuestra doctrina,
tanto me fallo inciente
que non se que bienes cuente
Syn temor de disciplina.

Poner sylencio a mi mano
fallo por mayor remedio,
pues ningund juysio umano
vos puede loar lo medio,
asy que yo temeroso
de oluidar vuestros loores
tengo descanso y rreposo
en pensar como non oso
nin osarian otros mayores.

Tanto vuestro como mio
pues rrason me manda ser,
yo vos do mi señorio,
vos dadme vuestro poder,
por que media la virtud
que junte nuestro deseo,
vuestra sea mi salud
y de vuestra joventud
gose el querer que poseo.

2 r°. Epistola de sant Bernaldo la qual enbia a Raymundo[1] para doctrina e regimiento de la casa.

Canc. de Burgos, p. cxxxvii; I (Gallardo, Ensayo I. no. 486. col. 586–7). Cf. Schiff, Bibliothèque p. 68, 73.

4 v°. Aqui comiença la ffe catolica.

[1] rey mu( )o

Begins: [T]odo fiel xanos conviene que aya ensy dos cosas p̄r conoscer a dios e guiar el su amor e la vida perdurable = La primera es etc.

Ends: El vii (sc. articulo de la ffe que pertenesce a la umanidad) es que en fin del mundo verna a judgar los bivos e los muertos e dara gualardon a cada uno segun los sus meresçimientos.

Cf. Schiff, p. 213: De articulis fidei catholicae.

6 v°. Introducion por el doctor pero dias de toledo al muy ilustre y esclarescido señor su singular senor el p̄ncipe don enrique primo genito en los reynos de castilla y leon.

Rios, Obras del Marques de Santillana, p. clxxx.

65 r°. Tractado que fiso el muy excelente e elevado maestro en santa teologia e en artes don alfoñ obp̄o que fue de avila que llamauā el tostado estando en el estudio por el qual se prueua por la stā escriptura como el ome es nescesario que se turbe amar e el que verdaderamente ama es nescesario que se turbe.

Gallardo, Ensayo ii, nos. 2721, 3290, 3298; iii, no. 2863. Cf. Bibl. Nac. Ms. B 20: Tractatus super quinque figuratis paradoxis; Schiff, p. lxxxiv & 40; and Canc. de Gomez Manrique ii, p. 32. Published by Paz y Melia in Opusculos literarios, Madrid 1902.

fol. 73 Un tratado que fiso seneca que enbio a su amigo que fabla de los remedios.

Gallardo, Ensayo II, Apéndice p. 150, s. v. Seneca; Schiff, p. 113, II ff.

fol. 76 Gomes Manrique al señor Diego Arias de Avila, contador mayor del rey nuestro señor y del su consejo.

De los mas el mas perfecto . . .

Canc. de Burgos, p. cxxxvii, 6; Castañeda, fol. 380; Egerton 939, fol. 53–59 v°; Ixar, fol. 200 (see Gallardo, Ensayo I, no. 486, col. 583 and 603–610); Bibliothèque Nat. de Paris, no. 587, fol. 185; Canc. Gen. 1, no. 75; Paz y Melia II, p. 65–84.

76–78 r°, *prosa.*

1 como 4 et 5 ha traydo—digan 8 o sy—el 9 agradarian 10 ni—p̄mas 11 ynoto del todo—discrecion 12 ni—tan abondado 13 cuitase 14 syn duda—ansy tan jnstruto 15 solo de la merçed —raçion que tengo 18 a mantener 21 por vos a ella se da— respuesta *omitted* 23 descontubrado 27 manif. l. ynos 29 use *omitted, a period taking its place* 31 omes rreuestidos—ante 33 q̄ nr̄o. s. 35 quel 36 e *for* y 37 non han a 40 escr̄pturās e. f. 42 atribuydle *omitted* 43 Salustrio 44 Catalinario 45 e—ni 50 estoruara 51 quisiere 54 como dise tulio 65 escr̄ptura 67 caresces 69 non elevado etc. 70 dulce p. de c. 71 carescientes 72 la *omitted.*

78–80 r°, *metros.*

3 yuſinto 13 fases 15 ami g. r. 17 grand a 18 sabiesu 24 y no 37 E falta—non 39 grande 44 que non 52 beuir 68 despidas 71 pasasen 77 dura comò rrociada 78 pues mortal 80 qñd 82 enxiemplos 84 ladeçomonia 85 *omitted* 94 cristianos 95 dignos fallaras 98 llama 99 de a 116 muy *omitted.* Conparacion *is omitted here as well as further on.* 128 turables 134 paresçe 136 que ves p. l. c. 141 *twice, but crossed out the first time.* 143 en punto 145 ansy 147 en la senda v. 150 faser 152 çoçobras 165 *In place of* afana *there is another word, ending in*—ia, *which is illegible owing to the changes made by the copyist*: t͡abdía 170 mucho 170, 173 muchos 173 tener 179 e (i ?) 190 a los q. 217 deligencia 224 mas mas sobl. 240 tras *written above the line by a later hand.* 247 mas [e] chalos—todos. tales aqas *written with different ink* 248 estos 249 Con t. 254 nõ 257 pierdes 272 nin—una 288 enforadas 297 requisimo 298 trab. atantos 301 paresçen 302 peresçen 310 casta mente 320 no—desaforrados 326 menistrales 328 mucho 329 grandisymas 331 melitantes 345 de holanda 352 come 356 egualdad 360 teneys, greys 378 descuydados 389 derribado 394 Mientra 396 trabājoso 398 chicos y g. s. 401 ynin͡gumos dellos sò 402 desto esemy dos (esemy *above the line, and in different ink.* 404 cò tales 408 ynon 409 synon 219 por. q̃mas

fol. 80 Ferrand Perez de Guzman[1]

Diversas virtudes y vycios, ypnos rimados e[2] loores divinos enbiados al muy bueno e discreto Aluar Garcia de Sa. Maria,[3] del Consejo del Rey nuestro señor.

Prologo

fol. 80 v°. Amigo mio sabio discreto.

256 stanzas.

Manuscript versions: L, fol. 46; Castañada, fol. 1; Burgos, last piece, with 350 stanzas; Canc. de Fray Iñigo de Mendoza, Royal Library at Madrid 2–F–5 (antiguo viii–A–3), 2[d] piece; Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds espagnol, no. 587, fol. 1; no. 588, fol. 1 (here attributed to Juan de Mena); no. 591, fol. 5 (without epigraph); Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, T 196 (fragment of *las Setecientas*, according to Gallardo, Ensayo 2, 126 and Amador de los Rios, Historia 6, p. 90, note 1); Bibl. Nac. ms. 3758 (= vol. iv), probably copied from L: Egerton 939, fol. 83; Canc. de los Duques de Gor, accord-

[1] ps de gusman [2] a loores etc. [3] g͡ra de Stā Mrā

ing to A. de los Rios, l. c., and Menéndez y Pelayo, Antología 5, p. lxxviii, note.

Printed versions: Canc. de Ramón de Llavia, fol. 2; In: Las Sietecientas de Fernan Perez de Guzman. Sevilla, 22 de Dic. de 1506 (a book which belonged to the Biblioteca Colombina, according to Gallardo, Ensayo 2, no. 3246); the same, Lisboa 1512 and 1564, and the edition without date preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna, according to Farinelli, Giornale storico della letteratura italiana, 1905, p. 14, note 2.[1]

Anton de Montoro

fol. 96 r.–97 v.

(1) Muy digna potencia de mas prosperar

Cotarelo 29; Egerton 939; M. 2, 249[2]; 3 algund 4 fesistes *inserted between two lines* 14 qmuestra y speriencia 16 efquẽ 17 q̃ tu yases (tu *crossed out*). 40 fuste 43 cõsus faldas 46 grand 61 vicio l. p. 63 quñd 68 la trra troyana c. etc. 69 ȝ sy m. etc. 70 Wg̃jo: (?) 76 ynpectuoso 83 victoria 90 atantos 101 q̃le d. o. 116 nõ le d. etc. 122 desobedencia 126 asy se le m. 135 buelo 136 trancadas 138 rrauía 139 r. syenpre gemidos etc. 140 syento 150 grand promoteo 167 eñõjos 174 jgnnar (= gañar?). 175 q̃ ca n. t. b. 181 n. m. ora secalle 184 laça 189 q̃buẽ cauallõ 203 sacreficio 205 rremitas 206 ynotas 208 o puesto etc. 209 grã 213 q̃ nos v. d.

Diagarias.

(2) Bachiller, andais mui floxo

Cotarelo 166.

(3) Se que vuestra señoria

Cotarelo 234.

11 mas cabdal 12 pũja.

fol. 98 r.

(4) Noble Reyna de Castilla

Cotarelo 280.

1 Alta.

(5) Hombre de poca familia

Ibid.

(6) Aca non se de que villa

Ibid. 281.

[1] See now Foulché-Delbosc, Étude sur Fernand Perez Guzman, in Revue Hispanique 16, 26 ff., where, however, both our Seville cancionero and some other sources are omitted.

[2] *Profesar* for *prosperar*. Cotarelo y Morí does not appear to have consulted this ms.

Y y ā qen etc. 10 desauido (?). 11 no *is wanting* 15 açotan 21 oye 24 es *is wanting*

fol. 98 v°.

(8) Eterna gloria que dura

Cotarelo 104.

7 çoçobras 9 vençate t. p.

(9) Templo de rica familia,
bordado con honestad

Cotarelo 277.

6 benjr 12 n. p. q. el s. e 13 me *is wanting* 20 fabricas 34 u. v. y p. 40 p. s. coño 43 tauerna 46 terraso 48 jarraso

fol. 98 v–99 v.

(10) El alma noble sufriente

Cotarelo 206 ff., ms. 2249.

2 y *wanting* 3 ynobidiente 7 qrielo 17 files r. d. 22 quanto 37 q͡jres 38 colegio 39 q. p. flaco s. c. 42 amis g. m. 43 que *wanting* 24 todos los crescidos p. 46 y aun 50 esto Con p. t. 56 b. en t. l. h. 70 que en guarde etc. 71 non me cato 75 q͡l(l *written by a later and different hand*). 81 harre 82–90 *wanting* 94 sacreficio 95 syn los ver ni conbidar 97 syn los traer ni llamar 98 allatar *or* allacar Fin: 100–103 *wanting*.

Quexas de una mula que avia empeñada Juan Muñes de Cordoua a don Pedro, y despues gela desenpeño.

(11) Vos, al muy gran Rey anexo

Cotarelo 149.

4 de lexos 8 doblastes 13 follando 14 fiel—quiere 20 cō dieta 21 dubda 23 non 24 del t. 32 iva buscar 33 Ved senor 35 gelas 36 c. e. d. muy d. 38 t. muy mas h. lo avia 39 Sy nadie—miraua 40 grand 42 Ved sy lo c. o 45 quiere 46 en *wanting*.—y amas llenas 47 la p. 50 grand 51 farte 56 enbueltas—alcaparas 57 Sobre h. 59 grand 60 puede 63 mas d. s. r. a 64 ay un onbre 66 en mis muy r. ȳjadas 72 q̇llas 73 rriebto 74 nin 76 fase—sogebto 77 non 78 m. brutados 81 segund—calla 84 falla 86 de m. v. o. 87 que *wanting* 88 sali la t. b. *Rubric wanting* 92 syno p. a. q. q. b. 93 non 94 nin 104 tusana 107 grand senor c. s. f. 109 enbiastes m. l. 111 grand 112 piensa de v. 118 anparare syn cargasō 120 çenō 121 Saluo m. p. c. 123 Vine t. 124 c. l. p. del fonsario 125 segund 126 m. l. muy etc. 128 entraua 130 traxiera 132 M. Pero 133 fe me d. en l. grand foya 138 granciones 140 del muro 141 p. pā el a. etc. 142 q. h. etc. 143 p. vean 146 aueys 147 quād 149 fermosas 157 d. q͡l. etc. 159 n. por b. ferrador 160 nj m. f. etc. 165 tan prolixo 166 clueldad 168 catiuedad cabo

fol. 101 r.

(12) Asaye de memorar

Cotarelo 175.

5 grand 7 çinen 8 fortuna 20 fallares 25 sabe (?)

fol. 101 v.

(13) Un escudero andaua

Cotarelo 111.

7 y *wanting* 11 de a. b. v. 12 colupnā 21 ouas 19 tenia 38 dixo—lancar 43 grand 46 segund

fol. 101 v.–102 r.

(14) El fidalgo que singlaua

Cotarelo 113.

3, 14 grand 5 quando pauor etc. 8 conortaua 15 yuan 21 dellas 25 argumento 26 selegismo 28 deuemos 31 distingian 42 n. v. esta c. 44 lo tiene

fol. 102.

Anton de Montoro a . . . . .

(15) Como quando cortan arbol

Cotarelo 44. Ms. 2249.

3 iten q. quitan

Al Señor Ynigo lopes marq̃ de Stillana q̄le mando q̂ fisiese algo

fol. 102 v.

(16) Como ladron que desea

Cotarelo 55.

2 quel mate ni q̂mate 4 ȝ 6 Y d. 11 asy 12 e. s. q̃. v. 15 grand 18 que es 19 no *wanting*

A. G. O. Corregidor por un puñal etc.

(17) Juan de Luna me lo dio;
vos, señor, me lo tomastes.

Cotarelo 145–6.

3 esto. *3 and 4 in inverted order* 17–20 precede 9–16 9 Yo fablando 10 diga 18 de grand fuerça y de v. 20 podrie

Otra suya al dicho Corregidor por que le mando que jugase a las canas

(18) Non jugais, buen cauallero?
—Dias ha que non jugue.

Cotarelo 160.

1 Que faces 3 y quereys 4 soy 5 T. l. qv t. y non f.

(19) Yo pense, señor Juvera

Cotarelo 240.

3 y non m. vos t. 4 quando v. falle fuslera

(20) Discreto varon polido

Cotarelo 190.

1 D. y muy p. 4 fiusia 6–7 *wanting.*

Mandó el Corregidor que ficiese un albalá para Juan Abis cambiador del Cabildo

fol. 103 r.

(21) Buen amigo, Juan Habís

Cotarelo 143.

3 dares A. d. M. 5 Y con esta soy contento 6 de lo que aqui se promete 9 ȝ syete

Alfonso Velas Anton

(22) Como los ricos tesoros
puestos so la ruda tierra

Cotarelo 75.

4 someros. 7 vr̃o.

(23) Dicen que amanece Dios
para todos desde el cielo

Cotarelo 75–76.

1–4 están tras 5–16 5 segund 8 caridas (?) coros 19 9 y invidos 11 non quesistes dar etc. 12 un solo y propasar 13 medianero 15 con el vr̃o m. 17 pollenera *After* Amanece para vos *comes the following cabo*:

Lexos de mal entreualo
cerca de bien que teneys
han me dicho que sabeys
desencantar fado malo[1]

Otras suyas al dicho marq̃s

(24) Que cosa tan de escusar

Cotarelo 59.

1 obra t. descusar 4 de Duero 5 y con etc. 7 antel 11 vr̃a 12 ningund

Montoro a una muyer beuda

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[1] After the lines: *Con el vuestro mencionar* Pollenero etc., Ms. 13042 has the following note: "Aqui, bien estudiado el original, no se puede sacar el verdadero sentido de el Poema." This note, for the communication of which I am indebted to Mr. A. Wittstein, is followed by the four lines which begin: Dicen que amanece Dios. After these verses comes the same *cabo* as in our Seville ms., this *cabo* being identical with the last four lines beginning: como el Sant Job tentado (ms. 4114 of Bibl. Nac., fol. 674). The statement made by Cotarelo y Mori (p. 58 of his edition of Montoro) is therefore inaccurate.

(25) Un vinagron como fierro
Cotarelo 294.
3 fojuelas 4 sō a. 5 Al echar y leuantaros puta vieja beuda y loca 7 eso me da b. 9 vina—foya 12 otro dia se enxuga 14 p. tirame alla esa p. 16 y en
fol. 103 v⁰.
Otra a un despensero que se llamaua porçel por un poco de cosina (*sic*) que le avia de dar e gela comieron los perros.
(26) Pese a tal, Porcel, y ayna
Cotarelo 295, *where neither 13042 nor Egerton are referred to.*
1 avos y anina 2 ynormes 3 p. f. . . . a C. 6 gelo 7 nos 8 yal 9 Con goso del desgranar
(27) Vos, en quien todo bien cabe
Cotarelo 235.
5 declarame 6 non
(28) Suena de vos una fama.
Cotarelo 232.
3 tirasen 7 deste 8 traes 9 beço 10 y *omitted*
Otra suya.
(29) Decid, amigo, sois flor?
Cotarelo 269.
2 o obra etc. 3 carbanq' 6 o tauboril o trompeta 7 o m. o faurate
fol. 103 v.–104 r.
(30) En todas destrezas más vivo que brasa
Cotarelo 221.
2 rrepuna 6 ahuelo 12 quede
(31) Por vuestros mandos y ruegos
Cotarelo 216.
1 A v. m. y. r. 2 presumjr 3 agora, b. c 4 yo ardo e. d. f. 5 q̄ sy non le do pensares 6 couarde y m. 7 dires 8 q̄. m.
(32) Persona muy singular
Cotarelo 200.
2 pero d. y f. 3 non sopiere 4 confiando en vr̄o dar 6 cargados 8 en los baldios
(33) Nunca vi tal en mi vida
Cotarelo 69.
6 soys
(34) Si como el ultimo dia
Cotarelo 68.
9 sentires
(35) Vos en quien todos se acojen
Cotarelo 67.
1 agos̄e 12 los questos 14 grand

fol. 104 v°.

(36) Non vos vengo con querellas

Cotarelo 157.

2 nin las rescibays 4 grand 5 agora, b. c. 6 quando tal etc.

(37) A vos bien querer y amar

Cotarelo 158.

1 q̇rey 5 lantisco.

(38) Escapė de Moratilla

Cotarelo 162.

7 viene m. 8 a pie enxoto a la diana

Otra a Don Pedro porque le tomo un dedal

(39) Lleno de prosperidades

Cotarelo 161.

6 p. constantes y m.

fol. 104 v.–105 r.

El dicho Anton a Juan de Mena

(40) Como facen los novicios

Cotarelo 46.

2 en los e. m. diestror 3 q̇en no ver a sus maestros 4 usan de jovenes vicios 5 asy q̇ p. etc. 8 mostraran t. s. y. 10 rreprehensor 11 *Rest of line after* dixo *is cut out* 4 fisela--onbre 15 p. quando se vera 16 los que v. mengua dice 17 quier b. t. 18 so bien çierto que dira 19 lo que mejor en parte fise. *Follow ll.* 32–35: Cabo 32 vea 33 qnto 34 faga a: c. vos 35 faga o. c. el. *Rest of Cabo, ll.* 36-41, *wanting.* 23 gosa de gloria syn pena 24 fuelga 27 Jura c. t. m. 28 *lacking* 29 elijo 31 fijo

(41) En verdat que si lo uno

es asi como lo al

Cotarelo 60

No rubric: 1 Es ṡ puradas 13 entre pongo mas p. 14 Vuestra discrecion emiende 15 pronuncian 16 de pasar paso por ende 18 acidentan los enteros 20 mas son etc. 22 faxan 24 altos.

(42) Hombre de rica familia.

Cotarelo 205.

The ms. writes clearly en discretas nȯ m. pachȯ, *without cedilla under the* t *of* discretas. *The reading* en discrezas non muy pacho, *which* Cotarelo *attributes to it, is therefore wrong.*[1] 2 nȯ m. pachȯ. 3 q̇reys t. ese m. *The note here appended by Cotarelo is again incorrect.* 4 mursilla.

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[1] This is the only time that Cotarelo quotes directly the text of our manuscript.

(43) Discreto y muy polido
en cuyas obras non ando
Cotarelo 144.
4 vos 13 çumo
fol. 105 v⁰.

(44) Cuando dejan al can, sola
Cotarelo 65.

(45) Como los canes con ira
Cotarelo 66.
fol. 108 v⁰–111 r⁰.
Juan de Mena[1]
Argumento breue de toda la obra e invocacion catolica.
Canta tu, Christiana musa

Paz y Melia, G. M. 1, 242; Egerton 939, fol. 116; Castañeda, fol. 153; I (Gallardo, Ensayo I, no. 486, col. 579); T, no. 61 (Gall., I, no. 484, col. 496); Salvá, fol. cxviii; X², fol. 2; Bibl. Nationale, Paris, fonds espagnol, no. 587, fol. 217; no. 588, fol. 97; Cancionero of the 15th century, published in *Revue hispanique* 10, 322, no. 5: See besides the list of the works of Juan de Mena published by Foulché-Delbosc in Revue hispanique 9, 114 ff., where, however, our cancionero is not consulted.

2 mas qla c. b. 6 de la tal v. 8 non *Rubric*: dios p. l. m. g. ya *is wanting* 11 enpoçoñada *Rubric*: proymisa — correçion 18 tardaes 22 bivo en entender 23 y de b. f. *The order* of *the ll.* 33–40 *and* 41–48 is inverted 46 descarnadas 33 la p. v. 35 es posada por esta arte 38 ca—non 39 beuir 53 filo 55 judgando 59 non 64 *The copyist first wrote* defiendo, *then he crossed it out, adding* afeo. 66 muchas 68 yerran los p. 70 enxenplos *Rubric*: semejancas 78 brisma 85 non 87 afiçcion 98 non 101 en t. f. 107 fuyerà 109 ficçiones 112 *The copyist first wrote* ṇecnas, *then corrected this to* veinas. 116 ahorradas 126 redusiendo 132 jn judga etc. 141 asygne 144 se encamine 151 non 152 d. catadura 155 ynflamada—non 157 o triste y p. 160 presentuosa *Rubric*: de la auaricia 161 s. y. m. 171 de ponçoña da f. (?) 117 rreganados 180 s. açidentes a. 183 desechando 184 y 186 alos c. r. 189 Des que etc. 191 a *wanting*. *This line had been omitted and was then supplied.* 192 n. lo podiera o *Rubric*: enbidia 199 e *in place of* y 200 de *wanting*. *Rubric*: setima 201 sonolienta 203 grangera 205 tractada *Rubric*: abtor 229 se estrecha 231 ca *wanting* 232 cresçe 243 departe 247 tiniebla 251 de a. s. f.

[1] Written on the margin.

254 prosumir. *Rubric after* 264 *wanting* 272 sugebçion *Rubric*: nasce] vienec (*sic*) 274 esquiuedad 276 liñage 280 afliçion *Rubric*: del *wanting* 281 loança 285 fundamento 287 q̄l s—turar.[1] 290 ageno 291 C. p. te mostrar m. l. 292 judgan 302 que—terrunon 303 y da cuñon 304 a *wanting*. 305 correbçion 309 facçion 312 minçion *Rubric after* 312: continua 314 tenpo 317 non 318 ni 320 fermosura, *corrected to* fermosa 321 Fue 323 de 325 fuese tu grand c. 329 que eres 332 consyntiese te 337–344 *wanting*. *Rubric*: mas *wanting* 345 puede 348 cobdiçion. *Fol.* 108 v⁰. *Rubric*: mas *wanting* 370 quien de q̇de nobleza se siga *The copyist first wrote* quien de, *then he corrected his error by adding* q̇ de, *without, however, crossing out the erroneous words.* 372 derechero *Rubric*: mas *wanting* 382 el *wanting*. 386 te fallas sy bien te catas 387 quando 389 ansy en grand e. *Rubric*: presentuosa 403 y p. grand e. 404 beuir *The rubric and ll.* 409–416 *are lacking*. 425 yproquesia 427 sonbra 432 filusumia *Rubric*: continua 436 *This line is preceded by the particle* no *written in smaller letters.* 438 quiere 440 mismo *After this word follows the rubric* Prosygue. *Fol.* 109 r⁰. 443 enganio 446 subir 450 me *inserted above the line.* 452 yproq̇ta *After* 456 *follows the rubric*: Continua 459 la *inserted above the line.* 460 su 461 busca 464 fuscar *Rubric*: cont*ra* el a. 467 a todos 468 llegas 472 mismo *In place of* niegas, *the line has* llegó, niegas *being supplied under the line.* *Rubric*: por que a 474 *This line is preceded by a sign representing* y, *which conjunction is wanting at the beginning of the next line.* 478 p. q. non se faga c. 480 a las V. del a. 481 por q̄so 482 preciado 485 donde esto *Rubric*: a la primera f. 491 creçer a la b. 494 noctiçia 496 bueltas *Rubric*: mas *wanting*. 513 s. de su c. 518 conoscan 522 presçiado 523 presçiados 526 que l. m. etc. *Fol.* 109 v. 534 a *wanting* 538 antiguos 539 testigos 542 munchos 543, 544 mucho 550 estouiera 551 subrreticia 557 especia 572 te a. 574 d. t. non dan c. 582 sujebto *Rubric*: Dize mas *wanting*; el a. 582 de arpia 586 beuir 591 tocatriz 594 non n. 597 que digo que es l. d. 598 t. y desta c. *Rubric*: L. r. C. como el q. r. deue ser g. 599 Q. b. j. a la p. 603 de a. 605 desagradesçido 508 g. algos C. 615 Ca sy etc. *Fol.* 110 r. 620 la yntençion p. 624 fidionda 636 acto 638 cobrar 641 santos padres s. d. 643 pestelençia 646 y] e 647 brunes 650 tratan 651 meritales 652 fuellas 654 debdos 664 dagena c.

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[1] Paz y Melia: tirar, *which reading gives no sense.*

h. 665 y. p. a. 670 saludan 677 l. hedad q. t. b. 682 s. rreyes y d. 689 contrahechos 694 c. muchos p. *Rubric*: prosygue 695 Que como t. c. 698 proveyo p. t. f. 708 generaçion *Fol.* 110 v. 714 d. en el su s. 744 gran arrenga 745 lengua 750 se alcança 753 n. g. penados a. 755 bicoquites 762 acrestar 774 conbeniencia 775 seyendo 778 volcano 780 soñosa 795 A. del p. 796 dañoso *Fol.* 112 r. 799 O quand etc. 804 actos 807–814 *wanting* 821 afeçiones 823 se prueua 827 estiendase 829 que en los otros yo non s. 831 Quanto 833 o que syguen o. t. 835 Quiera d. f.

fol. 111 r., col. 2ª.[1]—117 r., col. 3ª.

Gomez Manrique

Por fallescimiento del famoso poeta Johan de Mena.

Pues este negro morir[2]

Paz y Melia I 278. Cf. Egerton 939, fol. 120; Castañeda, fol. 161; Cancionero of 15 th century (= no. 6, p. 73). *Revue Hispanique* 10, 320 ff.

2 q. a n. n. p. 10 temor 12 la c. 13 por que seyendo p. 14 ome 16 deuiera 17 segun 21 perfecta 21 trsa (*for* beça); 23 conseguire. *Rubric*: Torna—e *wanting* 44 ganen 45 orâtes 46 se a 51 non 54 dexan 55 non 57 desy 60 de ti 68 lo t. 70 que *wanting* 71 e *wanting* 74 non 79 non 83 guisado 85 El que c. b. *Rubric*: R. l. r. contra la gula 101 nunca—venir 104 entreuenir 105 non 106 q̣ entra 107 Co escrptura[ta] tiã 109 sy tu l. 111 luene 113 Que *wanting* 114 y lasu etc. 116 ni

[1] The verso of fol. 111 is blank.

[2] Before this composition. ms. 13042 has the following note: "En un ms. de la Biblioteca de la S. Iglesia Patriarcal de Sevilla, entre los codices del Sr. D. Fernando Colon, se halla con otras obras poeticas la que con titulo de *Invocacion católica*, comienza *Canta tu Christiana Musa*, que compuso *Juan de Mena*, y entre las impresas con titulo de *Virtudes y vicios*, continuó Fr. Geronimo Olivares desde donde la havia dejado sin concluir el citado *Mena*. Cita en su Biblioteca este Poema Dn Nicolas Antonio, y aunque canonigo de nuestra Iglesia de Sevilla, como trabajó en Roma, sin embargo de haverle remitido el Canonigo Loaysa, entonces Bibliothecario, notas de las Obras de Autores Españoles, la presente no la insertó entre las de Gomes Manrrique, por que no la advertiria Loaysa, por estar â renglon seguido al Poema expresado de Juan de Mena. Debemos advertir, que en el Ms. solo hay 102 piezas de este Autor; que en el Impresso son en mas numero: y que hay algunas en todo nuevas y muchos variantes su leccion en la primera parte, ó quarteta de la octava. El Ms. es de el medio Siglo xv y por consiguiente podemos decir casi coetaneo â Mena. Da principio la continuacion con este titulo: "por el fallecimiento" etc.

118 asu p. 120 comio 121 non 129–130 El primero planto viña segundo es escripto 131 seguir el a 133 su propio fiju forço 134 por lo quel fue muy penado 135 Aunque asas aver pecado 136 penaes al que peco *After* 136 *follow the lines* 153–160 *in place of ll.* 137–144 *which are wanting* 157 desir le 159 mas por p. d. 146 juuenil 149 emana 150 syetes 151 dares 163 ni 178, 182 beudos 190 quando 196 adolieue 197 ynora 199 desperesos 207 enpachan *Rubric*: Replica l. g. contra la rrason 211 podemos 214 podiendose s. *Rubric*: d.—e. *wanting*. 221 loo *wanting*. 222 bestiales. *Rubric*: medios. 225 non 227 ni 232 ylo s. d. 239 so la q̃l 246 q̣arena 247 pecado *Rubric*: d.—enb. *wanting* 271 y dexados l. e. 275 acrescienta 279 posesyn 280 verdad 281 p. n. es q. m. 283 malçedon 284 E. l. trados s. 285 dese Çesar demorado (?) 291 andan̄s r. 293 Marcharbal 292 sofr. 301 e delos labradores 302 Ennobescelos collados 305 que vicio c. d. 313 s. mill c. 314 non le s. etc. 320 dexiste 341 mismo 342 beuimos 344 partidos 345 avos 357 sy mas etc. 370 discrecion 372 non g. etc. 373 poserlos 382 bien va l. f. en rrama 385 beuiremos 391 Otras n. l. v. 396 lienços—apurados 397 e—apresurados 398 alfajas 399 glorias 405 actos 407 buscanto 413 7 las etc. 416 m. e c. 418 con e. etc. 420 de la pena 421 la honrra 423 l. glorias 426 màçanas 432 las d. etc. 439 triũfos 441 segaron 457 memorales 460 syn faser m. d. 464 Cayn abel su hermano 467 e *wanting* 480 manif. 481 defensiones 486 l. g. f. n. 492 emienda 502 podiesen 505 veemos *Rubric*: r. l. r. a la peresa 515 desgrenada 519 beuir 520 quiero yo m. r. 523 querras 524 non 527 y 535 Es *wanting* 539 via 545 finchir 546 faragan 547 tornando 554 non 557 negligencia 558, 561 non 569 e c. etc. 573 dificil *Rubric*: a lo etc. *wanting* 588, 603 muchos 590 ellos 595 lo b. 601 estas 607 rehgion 609 non 612 regno 622 acebtados 623, 636 muchos 628 obraron 629 gustaron 630 e la etc. 640 mismo 650 y m. 654 y t. non c. 655 neg. 667 non 668 por—electo 671 podieran 673 non devrian 676 non 681 nin 683 en *wanting* 684 pupilo 688 Sçeuola 689 non con el su grand denuedo 693 e p. s. m. c. 700 e n. 705 biuiera 706 moll. 710 e n. etc. 715 suçesores 719 muchos 722 trabajàdo 728 dela 728 mucho—amigos 730 de graues prolixidad 745 e. l. etc. 746 estoria 747 mucho 749 se *omitted*. 756 non 771 esta 779 fasemos 781 activa 782 de siempre etc. 783 jouenes p. s. etc. 793 g. a. l. 805 en v. 807 perfectos 812 q. por fe etc. 812 de se salvar 817 non 833 e non 836 non *Rubric*: actor; e compara *wanting* 841 finiestra 842 ocidental 849 e su etc. 853 q. l. q. nunca

biẽ nada 854 vergonosa 857 digna 858 la n. 863 E desde alta carida 868 fiesta 871 yo como de la prudencia 874 para la parte mejor. *Rubric*: Como da fenja la p. 883 aficciones 885 muchas 886 perfectas 891 farto 897 e de t. 898 desordenada 899 de m. s. f. qob q̣en 910 fallesçen 915 q̣ el etc. 916 v. esquiua 917 mas ayna 921 deputado 926 ser parado *fol.* 116 v. 928 beuir 930, 931, 947 non 932 sujebtos 933 afecion 937 desto mucho 942 pequenos 944 digno 945 e. c. etc. 946 regno 947 logar. *Rubric*: Como la providencia da | da rremedio contra los | syete ya nombrados 951 Quando a ti b. f. 952 mayoral 956 umillda tu m 960 a los c. e. 966 pasaran *Rubric*: Pone el *wanting* 967 de a. 970 anad. 971 q̣ ayas n. 974 Confondas atal m. 980 troxistes 983–1182 *wanting* 1183 E—reynastes 1184 umanos 1186 sojudgastos 1187 leuastes 1188 non 1189 e en j. 1190 despechastes 1199 Oyd con etc. 1202 afligidos 1205 seres 1209 non uses 1213 j. como q̃en anda 1215 diligencia 1218 con mal—querencia 1219 obseruad 1227 fagaes *Rubric*: A los labradores 1232 ritas 1234 beuid 1238 doctores *Rubric*: Amonestamiento general 1241 e. a. 1243 q̃ndo el j. d. 1245 do s. m. 1247 resucitaran reyes 1262 q̣reys—El libro es acabado dios sea loado amen

fol. 117 v⁰., col. 1ª.

Guivara[1] a su amiga pasado el punto con grant fortuna.

Si fuesedes vos serrana.

The eleven verses of this fragment correspond to lines 9–19 of no. 157 of Cancionero N, published by Rennert in Romanische Forschungen 10, p. 80.

2 en esta tierra fraguosa 4 se tornaria toda llana 5 y sus rr. todas losas 8 v., ll. cesarian 9 asi—poderian 10--11 *in inverted order.*

[Anton de Montoro] al Corregidor de Cordoua porque . . .

Señor, non pecho ni medro

Cotarelo 147.

5 yedras

fol. 117 v⁰. col. 2ª.

Juan Alvarez Gato el de Madrid a su amiga de Alonso Carrillo en respuesta de un presente q̃le enbio de una redoma de ag[ua] rosada y una paua y alcorça y nuezes en cons*er*ua y carne de membrillos.

El presente que me distes
el agua lagrimas son,

---

[1] yuara.

.la paua mis bozes tristes,
el alcorça el coraçon
cativo que me prendistes;
las nuezes es mas qu'el ruido,
la carne es la que lo siente,
y el vidro el acidente
que temo de vuestro olvido.

2 ella yua l. s. 4,8 ell a.

fol. 118 r°.–161 v°. Coplas
[El] labyrinto [de][1] Juan de Mena.
Al muy prepotente don Juan el segundo.

See Revue hispanique 9, p. 114, and the recent edition of the *Laberinto* by Foulché-Delbosc (Macon, 1904). The last of the 264 stanzas of this version is the one beginning: Estonces veredes escura la fama.

Canc. de la Colombina (E–AA. 144, 18), B. N. ms. 13042 (antiguo Dd. 61), Mus. Brit. Egerton 939 (Gayángos, Catalogue I, 11).

	Colomb.	13042	Egert. 939
1 San Agostin, Libro de la Vida Christiana	30 first fol. not numbered	—	—
2 Indice del Canc. de la Colomb.	fol. 1.	—	—
3 Aves brutos y salvajes	fol. 1 v–2	—	—
4 Epistola de San Bernaldo	2–4	—	—
5 La ffe catolica	4 v°.–6 v°.	—	—
6 Proverbios comentados por Pero Dias de Toledo	6 v.–65	—	—
7 Tractado que fiso el Tostado (in prose)	65–73	153–164 v°.	—
8 Tractado que fiso Seneca	73–76	—	—
9 Gomez Manrique: De los mas el mas perfecto	76–80	165–170	no. 20–21
10 Fernan Perez de Guzman, Amigo sabio e discreto	80–96	—	no. 24
11 A. de Montoro; Muy digna potencia de mas prosperar	96–97 v°.	123	„ 25
12 Bachiller, andais muy flojo	97 v°	127	„ 26
13 Se que vuestra señoria	„	127 v°.	„ 27
14 Alta Reyna de Castilla	98	128	„ 28

[1] Laurentino J. d. M.

		Colomb.	13042	Egert. 939
15	Onbre de poca familia	98	128	no. 29
16	Aca non se de que villa	„	„	„ 30
17	Eterna gloria que dura	98 v°.	128 v°.	„ 31
18	Templo de rica familia bordado con honestad	„	„	„ 32
19	El alma noble sufriente	„	129 v°.	„ 33
20	Vos al muy gran rey anexo	99	130 v°.	„ 34
21	Asayé de memorar	101	132 v°.	„ 35
22	Un escudero andaua	101 v°.	133	—
23	El fidalgo que singlaua	„	133 v°.	—
24	Como quando cortan arbol	102	134	—
25	Como ladron que desea	102 v°.	134 v°.	no. 36
26	Juan de Luna me lo dio	„	„	—
27	Non jugais, buen cavallero	„	135	—
28	Yo pense, señor Juvera	„	„	no. 37
29	Discreto varon polido	„	135 v°.	„ 38
30	Buen amigo, Juan Habis	103	„	„ 39
31	Como los ricos tesoros	„	„	„ 40
32	Dicen que amanece Dios	„	136	—
33	Que cosa tan de excusar	„	„	—
34	Un vinagron como fierro	„	136 v°.	no. 41
35	Pese a tal, Porcel, y ayna	103 v°.	„	„ 42
36	Vos en quien todo bien cabe	„	137	„ 43
37	Suena de vos una fama	„	„	„ 44
38	Decid, amigo, sois flor	„	„	„ 45
39	En todas destrezas mas vivo que brasa	„	137 v°.	„ 46
40	Por vuestros mandos y ruegos	104	„	„ 47
41	Persona muy singular	„	138	„ 48
42	Nunca vi tal en mi vida	„	„	—
43	Si como el ultimo dia	„	„	no. 49
44	Vos en quien todos se acogen	„	138 v°.	„ 50
45	Non vos vengo con querellas	104 v°.	„	„ 51
46	A vos bien querer y amor	„	139	„ 52
47	Escapé de Moratilla	„	„	„ 53
48	Lleno de prosperidades	„	„	„ 54
49	Como facen los novicios	„	139 v°.	„ 55
50	En verdat que si lo uno es asi como lo al	105	—	—
51	Hombre de rica familia	„	140	—
52	Discreto y muy polido	„	„	no. 56
53	Cuando dexan al can	105 v°.	„	„ 57

	Colomb.	13042	Egert 939
54 Como los canes con ira	105 v°.	140 v°.	—
55 Juan de Mena : Canta tu, Christiana Musa	105 v.–111 r.	—	no. 59
56 G. Manrique : Pues este negro morir	111–117	141	no. 60
57 Guevara : Si fuesedes vos serrana	117 v°.	152 v°.	—
58 A. de Montoro : Señor, non pecho ni medro	„	140 v°.	no. 58
59 J. Alv. Gato : El presente que me distes	„	152 v°.	—
60 J. de Mena : Laberinto de Fortuna	118–161 (End)	—	—
61 Tractados religiosos en lengua latina	—	1–53	—
62 Templarios, en Latin y español	—	54–62	—
63 Órdenes militares	—	63–70	—
64 Templarios	—	70–75	—
65 Órdenes militares	—	76–107	—
66 (Notarial document, dated Toledo Mch. 31. 1429)	—	108–118	—
67 Órdenes militares	—	119–120	—
68 Gonzalo Perez á instancias de Alonso VIII	—	121–122	—
69 Poesías	—	123–170 (See above)	—
70 Epistola exortatoria á las letras de Juan de Lucena (prosa)	—	171–175	—
71 Esposicion de el Verso : Quoniam videbo coelos tuos, opera digitorum tuorum, etc. (año de 1424)	—	176–193	—
72 Lamentacion de D. Alvaro de Luna etc.	—	194–204	—
73 Tio, señor, si yo buenamente pudiera	—	—	no. 1
74 Sabido el fin de la señora condesa	—	—	„ 2
75 Principe de cuyo nombre	—	—	„ 3
76 Recuerde el alma dormida	—	—	„ 4
77 Las preguntas que el Emperador hizo, etc.	—	—	„ 5

	Colomb.	13042	Egert. 939
78 Metros sobre el cantar que dizen los juglares (Agora el tiempo, etc.)	—	—	no. 6
79 Sobre el cantar: Si me fuera desta tierra	—	—	„ 7
80 Esta hora maytinal	—	—	„ 8
81 En denuestos e baldones	—	—	„ 9
82 Un linaje ysrraelita	—	—	„ 10
83 La sesta se celebro	—	—	„ 11
84 El cielo a nona enxergado	—	—	„ 12
85 Despues que ya fue difunto	—	—	„ 13
86 Al tiempo de las completas	—	—	„ 14
87 Carta: Devota hermana por que, etc.	—	—	„ 15
88 Carta: Señora esposa de mi señor	—	—	„ 16
89 Carta: Despertad vuestros sentidos	—	—	„ 17
90 Mingo revulgo, mingo	—	—	„ 18
91 Prose tract: Adan fizo nuestro señor Dios, etc.	—	—	„ 19
92 Aclara, Sol divinal, Fray Iñigo de Mendoza	—	—	„ 22
93 Redemptor, pues que quisiste	—	—	„ 23

Yale University. H. R. Lang.

THE RECONSTRUCTION
OF THE ORIGINAL
CHANSON DE ROLAND

FREDERICK BLISS LUQUIENS

IV.—The Reconstruction of the Original *Chanson de Roland.*

It should be stated, at the very outset, that throughout this article the terms *Chanson de Roland*, and Oxford manuscript (for which we shall use the abbreviation O), signify respectively the *Roland*, and O, exclusive of the so-called 'Baligant Episode.' Practically all *Roland* students admit that this episode was an interpolation in that lost intermediary manuscript through which all the extant redactions[1] derive from the original.[2]

* * *

Although the *Chanson de Roland* has been studied for three-quarters of a century, many of its problems, including several of the most important ones, are as yet unsolved. In the opinion of the present writer, however, a great number of these problems are solvable if the following thesis be proved—that the original *Chanson de Roland* was a poem of marked and consistent technical excel-

[1] There is, of course, a difference of opinion as to whether the *Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis* and the so-called *Chronicle of Turpin* derive through the same lost intermediary as the other redactions (cf. Gaston Paris, in *Romania*, xi, 465–518; and Stengel, in *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, viii, 499–521). The solution of this problem, however, does not affect the contentions of this article.

[2] Cf. especially Scholle, in *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, i, 26–40; Dönges, *Die Baligantepisode im Rolandsliede* (Marburg, 1879); Pakscher, *Zur Kritik und Geschichte des französischen Rolandsliedes* (Berlin, 1885), pp. 42–59; Lindner, in *Romanische Forschungen*, vii, 568–569; Gaston Paris, *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, pp. xxi–xxii. There are slight differences of opinion on the *delimitation* of the episode; these, however, do not affect the contentions of our article. We shall consider the episode to consist of the following lines (throughout this article we use the numeration of Stengel's *Genauer Abdruck der Oxforder Hs. Digby 23*, Heilbronn, 1878): 2496–2844, 2974–3681, 3975–3987, 3990.—Dönges, l. c., p. 47, says that arguments based on the technic of the episode would confirm his conclusion as to its spuriousness. That neither he nor any one else has made a detailed and complete presentation of such arguments is doubtless due to the needlessness of confirmation. Perhaps, however, such confirmation would have a certain value, for now and then there appears an obstinate defender of the episode: for instance, Tavernier, in his *Zur Vorgeschichte des altfranzösischen Rolandsliedes* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 155–173.

lence. For this thesis may often be used as a decisive weight, where former investigators have laid an equal amount of evidence in either scale. To its proof, then, will be devoted the first part of this article.

Let us call to mind the interrelations of the various *Roland* redactions. The original poem (whether it existed in manuscript form, or only orally, we need not attempt to decide) may be called x. From x derived, perhaps through lost intermediaries, a lost manuscript, which may be called x′. x′ was already augmented by interpolations, especially by that of the Baligant Episode.[1] From x′ derive, through lost intermediaries (except, possibly. in the case of O), all the extant redactions.

That x was a poem of marked and consistent technical excellence is practically[2] proved by the following two facts: (1) one of the extant manuscripts, O, is of marked and *almost* consistent technical excellence; (2) the few technical faults of O may be plausibly attributed to copyists.[3]

These facts, however, need detailed exemplification, for very few nvestigators have realized them. If Petit de Julleville has contended,[4] "On pourrait . . . montrer . . . que l'œuvre a une contexture bien plus serrée qu'on ne l'a dit quelquefois"; if Ten Brink has written,[5] "Wie gewaltig ist die Konzeption des Ganzen, wie einheitlich und geschlossen, in allen Teilen von der herrschenden Idee durchleuchtet ist die Komposition!"; if Professor W. M. Hart, in his recent *Ballad and Epic*,[6] frequently ascribes artistry to the poem; the great majority of writers have thought otherwise. For instance, Becker, in his *Grundriss der altfranzösischen Literatur* (1907),[7] denies

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[1] Cf. Müller, in the introduction to his edition of the *Roland* (1878), p. v; and Stengel, in the introduction to his edition, p. ix.

[2] I say 'practically,' because it is possible, though very improbable, that the technical excellence of O was due to some lost intermediary between x′ and it. Cf. *infra*, p. 127, Note 3.

[3] It is hardly necessary to say that we are speaking of O's technical excellence as a poem, not as a manuscript; and that therefore we do not consider such errors as those of vv. 197, 562, 604, etc., as technical faults. Such errors are merely typographical errors—if we may be allowed the anachronism.

[4] *La Chanson de Roland* (Paris, 1894), p. 57. Cf. also Geddes, *La Chanson de Roland* (New York, 1906), p. 175.

[5] *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur* (Strassburg, 1899), p. 145.

[6] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Volume XI (Boston, 1907).

[7] pp. 40–41.

the *Roland* "die plastische Schönheit," "die gleichmässige Vollkommenheit," and "die Anschaulichkeit."[1] Let us then endeavor to set forth in detail the technical excellence of the Oxford manuscript. Let us first consider the composition of O in its entirety, then the composition of its various parts.[2]

Considered in its entirety, the Oxford manuscript possesses unity, coherence, emphasis.[3]

To the present writer the practically perfect unity of O is unmistakably evident. Yet most *Roland* students, from Bourdillon,[4] a translator of 1840, who called the poem "le plus grand ramas de sottises qu'on puisse voir," to Brückner,[5] a dissertationist of 1905, who never tires of discussing its "Widersprüche," have considered its unity to be greatly impaired by what they have termed inconsistencies and impossibilities.[6] Here is an 'inconsistency.' At the beginning of the poem, Marsila, discouraged, desperate, cries, "Jo nen ai ost qui bataille li dunne";[7] later,—say the critics—the poet contradicts himself, for Marsila tells Ganelon that he has a host of 400,000 men. They do not, or will not, see that when Marsila asks Ganelon whether, with his host of 400,000, he may give battle to

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[1] Neither Becker nor the other writers mentioned refer explicitly to O, but we may take it for granted that the poem to which they refer is practically O.

[2] For the bibliography of studies on the technic of the *Roland*, cf. Seelmann. *Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Rolandsliedes* (Heilbronn, 1888), pp. 52–54. I have been unable to procure several of the monographs there enumerated; therefore I may be only repeating facts set forth long ago. It is certain, however, that it is time for fresh insistence upon those facts.

[3] These technical terms, as well as others of similar nature, I take from *A College Manual of Rhetoric* (New York, 4th ed.), by Professor C. S. Baldwin of Yale University.

[4] *Le Roman de Roncevaux traduit en Français* (Dijon, 1840), p. 76.

[5] *Das Verhältnis des französischen Rolandsliedes zur Turpinschen Chronik und zum Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis* (Rostock, 1905), pp. 61–70, *et passim.*

[6] The critics of the *Roland* in this respect are too many to enumerate. The list includes authoritative names: Scholle, *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, iv, 215–221; Gaston Paris, *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, pp. xxvi–xxvii; Gröber, *La Chanson de Roland d'après le Manuscrit d'Oxford* (numbers 53 and 54 of the *Bibliotheca Romanica*), pp. 9–10. Now and then, however, alleged inconsistencies and impossibilities have been denied: cf. Lindner, *Romanische Forschungen*, vii, 566–568; Stengel, *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, viii, 499–521.

[7] 18.

Charles, Ganelon responds *no*, for that force is only capable of defeating the *rearguard*.[1] So that the end of the matter is like the commencement—Marsila has no host wherewith he may give Charles battle. Here is another 'inconsistency,' typical of many. What man in his senses—say the critics—would act as Ganelon did at Marsila's court—first risking his life by delivering Charles' imperious message, then abjectly playing the traitor.[2] They seem not to realize that Ganelon was *not* in his senses, that he was crazed by jealousy. They do not or will not understand the poet, who shows clearly that Ganelon was a brave man,[3] and would have been a good man,[4] save for the one fatal flaw in his character —jealousy.[5] Jealousy blinded him to honor. Thus blinded, he easily argued himself into believing that vengeance inflicted upon Roland did not constitute treachery to Charles. From beginning to end he was faithful—he thought—to Charles[6]; and not treacherous even to Roland—for had he not warned the latter? had he not formally defied him in the presence of the whole court?[7] In what, then, is his character inconsistent? Finally, here is an 'impossibility.' It is impossible, contends Tavernier, in his *Zur Vorgeschichte des altfranzösischen Rolandsliedes*,[8] that Blancandrin should have delayed informing Marsila of the traitor's real intentions. Why impossible? Several explanations offer themselves readily. For example, the wily counsellor may have thought his despondent sovereign to be in need of some violent excitant. But even granting that the poet has here indulged in an 'impossibility,' shall we not excuse, nay, commend him, in consideration of the artistic results he has thereby attained? His procedure is explicitly sanctioned by no less an authority than Aristotle.[9] Thus, in one way or another, critics of O's unity may be answered.

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[1] 563–595. [2] 425–660.

[3] Ganelon's bravery is well set forth by Professor W. W. Comfort, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xxi, 336–345.

[4] If the poet had not considered Ganelon a good man—except for his fatal jealousy—he would not have written vv. 342–365.

[5] Graevell, *Die Charakteristik der Personen im Rolandslied* (Heilbronn, 1880), p. 122, insists on the jealousy of Ganelon. It is the natural jealousy of a stepfather envious of his stepson's greater fame: v. 308 is the key to Ganelon's character.

[6] 3760 and 3778.

[7] 287 and 3775–3777.

[8] Berlin, 1903. The contention cited is on p. 23.

[9] *Poetics*, xxiv, paragraphs 8–10.

I said above that the unity of O was 'practically' perfect. I used the adverb because I acknowledge one inconsistency. In v. 2357 Roland is described as dying "desuz un pin." In v. 2375 the same statement is made. But in v. 2874 Charles finds Roland lying "desuz dous arbres." The background of the hero's death has been described so vividly that the reader cannot but be offended by this alteration of an important detail. May not this alteration, however, be attributed to some copyist? Three considerations make such attribution plausible: (1) it is O's only instance of a slip of this kind[1]; (2) mediæval copyists were prone to such errors—it is surprising that there are not many more of them in O; (3) the line in which it occurs shows other evidence of having been tampered with—it is incomplete, the last words having been erased.

Coherence, also, is evident throughout the Oxford manuscript. Each stage of it leads naturally, inevitably, to the next. This is not only true of the longer stages into which the poem separates, it is practically so of the shortest; that is, of the strophes. With very few exceptions the strophes grow out of, and into, one another. It will be more convenient to illustrate the coherence of the longer stages below, for we intend, when we arrive at the discussion of their composition, to exemplify their excellence not only as units, but as component units. As to the coherence of the strophes, it would be futile to give an illustration, for whoever desires one needs only to open the Oxford manuscript at random.

There are, however, three passages in O which are exceptions to the general rule of coherence. The fact that there are only three is an argument for attributing them to copyists; but not, in itself alone, a final argument, for our French Homer may well have nodded three times. Let us see if there is confirmatory evidence. The first passage, vv. 761–765, is not in any of the extant redactions except O: almost all editors have therefore attributed it, without further ado, to O's copyist. The second passage, vv. 1406–1411, not only contains other technical faults unusual in O,[2] but also

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[1] It would be hypercritical, it seems to me, to class v. 877 and v. 3958 with the faulty verse discussed above. In these verses the numbers are more effective, from the artistic point of view, than the arithmetically correct numbers would be.

[2] These faults are (1) the inartistic precision of the prophecy: cf. *infra*, p. 120; (2) the padded line, v. 1408: cf. *infra*, p. 124. Furthermore, the division of vv. 1396–1411 into two strophes is significant; there is only one other instance in O of this metrical error: vv. 3780–3792.

shows a linguistic peculiarity which has led various scholars to consider at least a part of it as an interpolation.[1] The third passage, vv. 3695–3704, is in a strophe which was surely retouched by the interpolator of the Baligant Episode. All three, then, may be plausibly attributed to copyists.

The Oxford manuscript also possesses emphasis. The various chapters—if we may use this term—into which the poem naturally separates, are proportioned as to both length and intensity. In this latter respect O is especially artistic. The successive chapters are like waves, each one beginning slowly, then accumulating more and more force and altitude, finally breaking with a crash; for a time these waves, as of an incoming tide, rise ever higher; that of the climactic chapter is the highest; then, the tide of the action having turned, they break lower, more softly.[2] In short, emphasis is obtained by both horizontal and vertical proportion.

So much for the cardinal technical virtues of the Oxford manuscript. Minor virtues are not wanting. For example, symmetry is

[1] Cf. Müller's edition of the *Roland* (1878), p. 133; and Scholle, *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, i, 27, Note 4.

[2] The artistry of the intensity-proportions can be fully realized only by those who read the poem from beginning to end. The artistry of the length-proportions can be shown in the form of a synoptic table. In the following table we present the substance of each of the chapters into which the poem naturally separates, in the form of a title.

	Number of Lines	Final Line
Introduction	9	9
I. The Council of Marsila	86	95
II. The Quarrel of Roland and Ganelon	270	365
III. The Treachery	294	660
IV. The Rearguard	180	840
V. Before the Battle	347	1187
VI. The First Encounter	249	1437
VII. The Second Encounter	252	1690
VIII. The Horn	161	1850
IX. The Last Stand	545	2396
X. The Punishment of the Paynims	251	3704
XI. Aude	29	3733
XII. The Punishment of Ganelon	240	3974
Conclusion	14	4002
Total	2927	

Since O is sometimes uncertain in its lineation, I have used Gröber's edition for the above calculations.

to be found everywhere.[1] It is obtained by the use of balance, or by repetition, or by parallelism, or by what Professor F. M. Warren has called 'transposed parallelism.'[2] All these devices were common in Old French poetry. We wish to insist, not on their presence in the Oxford text, but on the skillful manner in which they are used.[3] Whoever has read the *Roland* will acknowledge the artistry of the balances: for example, the first strophe and the last strophe deal, not with Roland at all, but with Charles, thus forming a frame for the story; twelve Paynim Peers threaten Roland before the battle—in the battle they are humbled in corresponding sequence[4]; before the battle Oliver begs Roland to wind his horn—later he upbraids Roland for desiring to wind his horn.[5] No less artistically are handled the devices of repetition, parallelism, and transposed parallelism. They are used to emphasize some important fact,[6] or remark;[7] to interlink successive strophes or strophe-groups[8]; to make, as it were, a setting for some stage of the action;[9] to accentuate the balance

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[1] Cf. Tavernier, *Zur Vorgeschichte des altfranzösischen Rolandsliedes* (Berlin, 1903), p. 217.

[2] *Modern Philology* (October, 1905), pp. 1–3; (April, 1906), p. 3.

[3] Gaston Paris, *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1905), p. 24, contends that repetition in Old French epic poetry "n'est pas un artifice voulu." This is perhaps true of a great deal of Old French epic poetry, but not, in my opinion, of the *Roland*.

[4] 860–993 = 1188–1337.

[5] 1049–1081 = 1702–1736.

[6] 617 = 627 = 634; 661 = 669; 702 = 706; 717 = 737; 917 = 932; 1169 = 1187; 1448 = 1450 = 1630; 1967 = 2057 = 2070 = 2129; 2184 = 2200; 2357 = 2375; 2358 = 2876; 2475 = 2487; 3870 = 3882. Especially clever is the correspondence between v. 1244 and v. 1642; thereby the intransigence of the Church is emphasized.

[7] 249 = 261; 299 = 288; 370 and 375 = 377 and 381 = 392 and 396 (notice the equidistance between the members of these three pairs). Especially notable is the correspondence between v. 308 and v. 314; how effective it is, yet how simple and natural!

[8] To enumerate the lines forming such links would be futile, for their name is legion; the first instance is vv. 6 and 7 = 10. Because of them the poem possesses the consistency of a hauberk—it is strong, though flexible. Note especially 2906–2908 and 2930–2932, which bind together two sets of 'laisses similaires.'

[9] 365 = 660, setting off Ganelon's embassy; 841 = 1404, setting off the beginning of the battle. The latter correspondence is still more effective if we consider 1406–1411 to be an interpolation (cf. *supra*, pp. 115–116).

of two pendants.[1] They are often used to constitute a sort of refrain.[2] They are used, in combination, where Homer would have used only exact and complete repetition—in the three statements of Marsila's message.[3] Finally, they are used with especial skill in the so-called 'laisses similaires.'[4] Whatever be their origin and development as devices of Old French poetry—note that I have not committed myself on these points—it cannot be denied that in the Oxford manuscript they are used with technical proficiency.

In spite of the pervasive symmetry, however, variety is everywhere. Notice, for example, the many different phrases by which Charles is described.[5] Notice, to select only one of many such instances, the handling of the phrase "jo l'en conquis" in vv. 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2327, 2331, 2333; a practised orator could do no better. Compare the descriptions of the first and second encounters[6]: in the first the Franks are victorious in every combat—in the second only in alternate combats; in the first the Franks fight with spears[7] —in the second with swords[8]; in the first the warriors' steeds are unnoticed—in the second five are named and described.[9] And

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[1] For example, when the Paynim Peers are making their boastful threats, Marsila's nephew alone prophesies that he will slay Roland with his *spear* (v. 867)—he is slain by Roland's spear (v. 1202); Chernubles prophesies that his sword will conquer Durendal (v. 988)—he is the first Paynim to be slain by Durendal (v. 1324); cf. also v. 866 and v. 1211.

[2] With especial skill in the following three passages: (1) The Threats of the Paynim Peers—note particularly vv. 915 and 930 and 971; (2) The First Encounter—note particularly vv. 1234 and 1260, 1274 and 1280 and 1288, 1296 and 1303; (3) The Second Encounter—note particularly vv. 1501 and 1536, 1561 and 1585 and 1609.

[3] vv. 62–88 = 122–156 = 180–192. It seems to me that in this respect the *Roland* is more artistic than the *Iliad*.

[4] The device of 'laisses similaires' is discussed in detail *infra*, pp. 122–123, so I refrain from citation here.

[5] 1, 16, 28, 52, 70, 81, 94, 116, *et passim*.

[6] 1188–1337 and 1648–1609 (the seeming incorrectness of these latter figures is due to Stengel's numeration).

[7] 1204, 1229, 1250, 1273, 1287, 1295. In this encounter swords are brought into play only at the very end (1324).

[8] 1507, 1540. In this encounter the phrase "pleine sa hanste" is used only twice (1498, 1534), each time of Paynims.

[9] 1649, 1491, 1528, 1554, 1572. In the first encounter the only mention of steeds occurs in 1379–1380, and there the description characteristic of the second encounter is totally lacking. Notice the artistic diversity of 1492, 1529, 1555, 1573.

although in the course of the two encounters a score of combats are fought, no two are alike. Sameness, monotony, have no place in the Oxford manuscript.

Up to this point we have been discussing the composition of the Oxford manuscript in its entirety: let us now turn to the composition of its parts; and, first, of the chapters into which it naturally separates.[1] These are, most of them, perfect as units, and also as component units, for each one leads naturally and inevitably to the next. Let us analyse, as illustrative of our contentions, the first and second chapters. The first, *The Council of Marsila*, is short, but intense—the reader is caught up in a whirlwind at the very outset. The initial strophe describes the Paynim camp, picturing vividly its desperation. The next two are a pair of perfectly executed 'laisses similaires,'[2] setting forth Blancandrin's plan, a plan to be carried through even though the dearest lives be sacrificed. The next two, containing Marsila's instructions to the messengers. form another pair of 'laisses similaires.' The double use of this device at the very beginning of the poem—be it noted there is not another instance of it for almost five hundred lines[3]—seems intentional; the poet was doubtless making every effort to gain immediate attention. The next strophe, a very short one, brings the messengers to the camp of Charles, and ends with the line of foreboding:

Nes poet guarder que alques ne l'engignent.[4]

Thus ends the chapter.

The next chapter, *The Quarrel of Roland and Ganelon*, grows out of that which we have just summarised. Its first line,

Li empereres se fait et balz et liez,

recalls the line of foreboding just quoted. Anxiety is immediately engendered in the reader's mind—Charles needs cunning, not confidence—and this anxiety becomes more and more intense throughout the chapter. Through a succession of nineteen strophes the action steadily increases in rapidity: the first strophe presents the picture of Charles' confident and joyful camp, a clever contrast with the court of Mar-

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[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 116, Note 2.

[2] Cf. *infra*, pp. 122–123.

[3] The next instance is 520–562.

[4] For the convenience of readers of this article, I have supplied my quotations from O with punctuation. and made several obvious orthographic corrections.

sila: then follows the deliberate presentation of Marsila's message; then the calling of the fatal council; then, as a climax, the dramatic quarrel. It is significant of the poet's skill that in the last part of the chapter short strophes are used freely, whereby the action attains additional rapidity.[1] After the climax there is just one strophe. It describes the departure of Ganelon for the Paynim court, ending with the words:

Entret en sa veie, si s'est achiminez.

The chapter is well ended—the next one is well anticipated.

I have said that most of the chapters are perfectly composed. To be definite, all but one are so. This one exception shows several flaws: let us see if they may be plausibly attributed to copyists.

That chapter which I have called *The Rearguard* contains two minor imperfections. The first is the strophe consisting of vv. 725–736. The technical sins of this strophe are: (1) that it is not necessary[2]; (2) that it is not clear. The second minor imperfection of the chapter is the strophe consisting of vv. 803–813. Here the sins may be enumerated as follows: (1) the strophe is not necessary; (2) it is not clear; (3) it contains two padded lines[3]; (4) it contains a prophecy of exceeding prosiness:

Gualtiers desrenget les destreiz et les tertres,
N'en descendrat pur malvaises nuveles,
Enceis qu'en seient VII C espees traites.
Reis Almaris del regne de Belferne
Une bataille lur livrat le jur pesme.

The technical flaws of these two strophes are to a certain extent proofs of their spuriousness. For example, it is hardly probable that the prophecy just quoted was written by the same man who prophesied the death of Roland in the following words:

. . . prient Deu qu'il guarisset Rollant,
Jusque il viengent el camp cumunement;
Ensembl' od lui i ferrunt veirement.
De ço qui calt? Car ne lur valt nient.
Demurent trop, n'i poedent estre a tens.[4]

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[1] Cf. *infra*, p. 122.

[2] At least, it is infinitely less necessary than 717–724; cf. 835–837.

[3] 808 and 813.

[4] 1837–1841. All of O's prophecies are of the same poetical nature (cf. 9, 95, 179, 716, 859, 1405, 1806), except one (1408–1411), which is in a strophe imputable in part to copyists (cf. *supra*, p. 115, Note 2).

We must acknowledge, however, that we have no confirmatory evidence of other than technical nature,[1] as we had for the three technical flaws cited on pp. 115–116. We must be content to reiterate our feeling that the two strophes in question are very dissonant with the greater part of O, and to point to the fact that the second, at least, is quite consonant with the habits of mediæval copyists: suppose a scribe desirous of currying favor with some descendant of Gualtier, or a retoucher of logical bent, worried by the prominence of Roland's liegeman at the end of the battle, and the presence of vv. 803–813 in O is explained.

But beside these minor imperfections there is one of much greater consequence: vv. 792–798. These lines are the climactic lines of the chapter, for in them we learn that the Twelve Peers are to remain in Roncesvalles. Yet only eight of them are named; and, what is worse, two comparatively unimportant names are intermingled. The climactic effect is missed. But it is evident, in my opinion, that the original list of vv. 792–798 corresponded exactly to that of vv. 2402–2409; for compare v. 794 with v. 2404, v. 795 with v. 2405, vv. 796–797 with vv. 2408–2409. The faulty list is surely due to the carelessness of a copyist.[2]

The strophes of the Oxford manuscript are as well composed as the chapters. With very few exceptions, they possess unity, coherence, emphasis. With very few exceptions, they are perfect not only as units, but also as component units. Illustration would be futile; let us discuss the exceptions alone. The first is vv. 1404–1411. But this strophe is imputable to a copyist.[3] The second is vv. 1593–1627. That a copyist has meddled here has been the opinion of almost all *Roland* editors.[4] The last is vv. 2083–2098. Here our position is similar to that which we took above in regard to vv. 803–813; we feel it is very improbable that a strophe with three such miserable lines as 2090, 2096, 2098 is genuine[5]; and we note that vv. 2095–2098 are of the kind to which mediæval copyists were prone.

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[1] I hesitate to accept the arguments of Dönges, l. c., p. 39, Note 65. But the mere fact that he suspects vv. 725–736, is perhaps not without value as a confirmation of my view.

[2] If I interpret correctly Müller's remark on p. 75 of his edition (1878). he held this view.

[3] Cf. *supra*, pp. 115–116.

[4] Cf. Müller's edition (1878), p. 160; and Stengel's edition, pp. 170–171.

[5] Cf. *infra*, p. 124.

Before leaving the strophes, we must discuss two special uses to which O puts them. The first is a device which might be called the 'short-strophe group.' The average number of lines in O's strophes is fourteen; therefore ten lines or fewer would surely impress the hearer as a 'short strophe.' There are sixty-six such strophes in the manuscript. Of these, forty-two are scattered, but the remaining twenty-four constitute four almost equal groups.[1] When we examine the content of these groups, we must conclude that in each instance the choice of short strophes, rather than long, was intentional. In one instance, the last part of the first encounter, the device obviates monotony; in the other three, the quarrel of Roland and Ganelon, the swearing of the treachery, the duel of Pinabel and Thierri, it helps to obtain the rapidity requisite to dramatic effect.

The other special use to which O puts its strophes is the device known as 'laisses similaires.' 'Laisses similaires' may be defined as two or more successive strophes presenting the same matter in similar manner. It is obvious that here technical perfection will consist partly in a proportioned combination of similarity and dissimilarity—there must be as much of the latter as is possible without lessening the prominence of the former; and partly in the attainment of what may be called an 'incremental'[2] effect—each successive strophe must either advance the action, or augment the intensity, of the preceding strophe. As an illustration of these points let us analyse the three 'laisses similaires' in which Oliver begs Roland to summon aid.[3] In each strophe Oliver begs his friend to wind his horn, so that Charles may turn back; Roland refuses, giving a reason for his refusal; adding that he prefers to wield his sword, and ending with the prophecy that all the Paynims shall die. Note that in this summary there was one indefinite phrase—'giving *a* reason for his refusal.' This reason, the most important part of each

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[1] 317–341; 596–660; 1261–1319; 3850–3933. In three of these groups are interspersed some strophes of more than ten lines; the latter are not of sufficient length, however, to prevent the groups from being felt as such.

[2] Although I am not discussing the origin of the device of 'laisses similaires,' I choose the word 'incremental,' because it points to the possibility that their repetition is somehow allied to the 'incremental repetition' of popular ballads. As to the origin of the device, cf. Dietrich, *Romanische Forschungen*, i. 1–48; Nordfelt, *Les Couplets Similaires dans la vieille Epopée Française*, Stockholm, 1893.

[3] 1049–1081.

strophe, not only changes in each, but is each time more striking. In the first strophe Roland answers:

En dulce France en perdreie mun los.

In the second his reason is less selfish, more noble:

. . . Ne placet damne Deu
Que mi parent pur mei seient blasmet,
Ne France dulce ja chieet en viltet!

In the third he utters one of the most effective lines of the whole poem:

Ne placet Deu, ço li respunt Rollanz,
Que ço seit dit de nul hume vivant
Empur[1] *paien que ja seie cornant*!
Ja n'en avrunt reproece mi parent!

When we thus analyse the other instances of 'laisses similaires' in O,—there are in all sixteen[2]—we find only one which is technically bad.[3] This instance occurs during the recountal of Ganelon's embassy. In the first of three strophes Marsila asks Ganelon when Charles will grow weary of war: Ganelon avoids a direct answer. and extols his Emperor. In the second Marsila repeats his query; this time Ganelon responds that Charles will not tire of war while Roland lives. But in the third strophe there is no increment of any kind. One of the last two strophes is therefore technically *de trop*. Comparison of the two, however, shows plainly that one of them —probably the first—was a sort of metrical experiment on the part of some copyist. The matter has been discussed so many times that I need not enter into detail.[4]

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[1] Cf. Müller's edition, note on v. 1075.

[2] 24–61; 62–88; 520–562; 563–595; 617–633; 1017–1038; 1049–1081; 1702–1736; 1753–1795; 1796–1850; 1952–1977; 2297–2354; 2355–2396; 2881–2908; 2909–2944; 3750–3779. One of these instances (1753–1795) is well analysed by Dietrich, l. c., pp. 6–8. It is probable that in the original poem vv. 1396–1405 and vv. 1412–1437 constituted a pair of 'laisses similaires' (cf. *supra*, pp. 115–116); if so, they were technically excellent. —As many scholars have noticed, the laisses similaires of O are used only at important points of the action—another fact significant of the poet's artistry.

[3] 520–562.

[4] Cf. Rambeau, *Über die als echt nachweisbaren Assonanzen des Oxforder Textes der Chanson de Roland* (Halle, 1878), p. 128; Ottmann, *Die Stellung von V 4 in der Überlieferung des altfranzösischen Rolandsliedes* (Heilbronn, 1879),

It only remains for us to point out the technical excellence of the individual lines of the Oxford manuscript. To me their consistent artistry seems undeniable. I feel that there is not the slightest exaggeration in the words of Gaston Paris[1]: "On peut lire trois cents vers de la *Chanson de Roland* sans y trouver un mot à retrancher, pas une cheville, aucune concession à la rime: tout est plein, nerveux et solide; le tissu est serré, le métal de bon aloi." Yet some think otherwise. An eminent German scholar[2] uses the phrase "manch matter Vers"—but does not give examples. Tavernier (l. c., p. 26) is more definite: he considers as padded lines all those containing hendiadys. This is unjust, for hendiadys may be used artistically, as well as inartistically. Tennyson's

And lost to life and use and name and fame . . .

has never been branded as a padded line.[3] And none but Dr. Tavernier has ever before applied the epithet to such lines of the Roland as:

Serez ses hom par honur et par bien . . .

or:

N'i ad celui ki mot sunt ne mot tint.

I trust most students of the *Roland* will accord with me in hoping that none ever will again.

There are, however, some bad lines in O. Following is a list of those which are surely so: vv. 249, 644, *808*, *813*, 1357, 1386, *1408*, 1417, 1439, 2067, *2090*, *2096*, *2098*, *3688*, *3691*, *3703*, 3796. But more than half of these lines—those which are italicised—are in strophes which we have already attributed to copyists, a fact which constitutes additional evidence of the spuriousness of those strophes. There remain eight which must be considered as genuine—eight

pp. 26–27; Stengel, *Literaturblatt f. g. u. r. Philol.*, i, column 105; Perschmann, *Die Stellung von O in der Überlieferung des altfranzösischen Rolandsliedes* (Marburg, 1881), p. 19; Fassbender, *Die französischen Rolandhandschriften in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander und zur Karlamagnussaga* (Köln, 1887), pp. 7–8. Only two *Roland* students—as far as I know—have ever considered both strophes genuine: Dietrich, l. c., p. 40, Note 1; Tavernier, l. c., p. 58, Note 110. Neither gives sound arguments for this contention.

[1] *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1905), p. 24.

[2] Foerster, *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, ii, 163.

[3] If we should adopt Tavernier's criterion, we should have to deny excellence to many well known lines of Tennyson. Cf. Dyboski, *Tennysons Sprache und Stil* (Wien, 1907), pp. 200–203.

out of a total of 2927! Even though a more severe critic should triple the list,[1] he would not be justified in contending that O lacks consistent technical excellence of line.

I hope that the foregoing exposition has rendered clear the nature of the Oxford manuscript's technic. If so, I may consider my thesis —that the original *Chanson de Roland* was a poem of marked and consistent technical excellence—as proved.[2] Let us turn to the discussion of several important *Roland* problems which may be satisfactorily solved by means of it.

* * *

The first problem which confronts an editor of the *Roland* is of course that of the interrelations of the manuscripts; in other words, the elaboration of a stemma. In the present writer's opinion, however, whoever attempts this for the *Roland* will find himself, sooner or later, in an *impasse*, from which the usual methods of the study of manuscripts will not help him to emerge. He will first discover that no perfect stemma is here attainable. He will then narrow the number of possible stemmata to two, the only two which have resulted from a half-century and more of investigation on the part of *Roland* scholars. But here he will find himself at a standstill, for between the two there is no choice. They both show the same number of flaws, and the exponent of either can explain the flaws of his stemma by the theory that certain of the manuscripts are 'Mischhandschriften,' or by supposing that some of the scribes who wrote them knew the poem, at least portions of it, by heart.[3] Un-

[1] It seems to me impossible that any unprejudiced critic should more than triple the list.

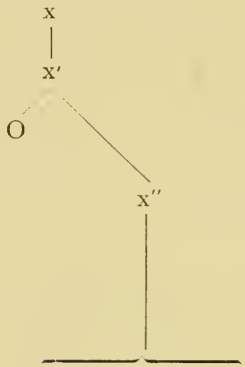
[2] Why should this thesis surprise us as much as it does? In eleventh-century France were generating the principles of Gothic architecture: is it strange that a French writer of that time should possess a wonderful instinct for structure?

[3] The complete bibliography of the manuscript problem is too extensive to be given here: cf. Seelmann, *Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Rolandsliedes* (Heilbronn, 1888), pp. 73–77. Following are the most prominent exponents of one or the other stemma: (1) of the 'Oxford stemma' (cf. *infra*, p. 126): Ottmann, *Die Stellung von V 4 in der Überlieferung des altfranzösischen Rolandsliedes*, Heilbronn, 1879; Scholle, (a) *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, iv, 7–34; (b) ibid. 195–222; (c) *Der Stammbaum der altfranzösischen und altnordischen Überlieferungen des Rolandsliedes*, Berlin, 1889: Pakscher, *Zur Kritik und Geschichte des französischen Rolandsliedes*, Berlin, 1885; Fassbender. *Die französischen Rolandhandschriften in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander und zur Karlamagnussaga*, Köln, 1887; and especially Müller, (a) in the

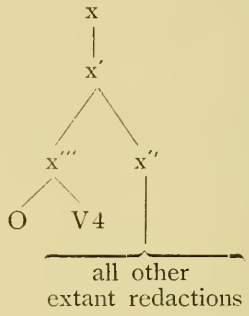
luckily, however, the two possible stemmata are radically different; it is imperative that one of them be proved the better. Our thesis, if conceded, solves the question.

Before proceeding to the discussion of this point, however, let us recall the chief features of the manuscript dilemma. Here are the two possible stemmata (for the meanings of x and x′, cf. *supra*, p. 112; x″ and x‴ = lost intermediaries; V 4 = the manuscript of the Library of San Marco in Venice) [1]:

The Oxford Stemma



The Redactions Stemma



There may have been intermediate manuscripts, now lost, between x and x′, between x′ and O, etc.; but the question of the existence and number of such intermediaries is not so important as that of the amount of difference between x and x′, between x′ and O, etc. —these various amounts of difference are represented by the various

introduction of his second edition of the *Roland*, Göttingen, 1878; (b) *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, iii, 439–452: (2) of the 'redactions stemma': Rambeau, *Über die als echt nachweisbaren Assonanzen des Oxforder Textes der Chanson de Roland*, Halle, 1878, pp. 10–17; Foerster, *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, ii, 162–180; Perschmann, *Die Stellung von O in der Überlieferung des altfranzösischen Rolandsliedes*, in Stengel's *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der roman. Philol.*, iii, 1–48; and especially Stengel, (a) *Verhandlungen der fünfundvierzigsten Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Bremen vom 26. bis 29. September 1889*, pp. 132–133; (b) in the introduction of his edition of the *Roland*, Leipzig, 1900.

[1] For complete stemmata, cf. *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, ii, 163–164; and Fassbender, l. c., p. v.

lengths of the lines x–x′, x′–O, etc. Notice, then, that the stemmata show two radical differences: (1) in the one, O constitutes a family in itself—in the other, O and V4 constitute a family; (2) in the one, O, of all the extant redactions, is by far the closest to x′—in the other all the extant redactions are about equidistant from x′. Because of these two differences I have called the one the 'Oxford stemma,' the other the 'redactions stemma.'

Now, if the original *Chanson de Roland*—that is, x—was a poem of marked and consistent technical excellence, a stemma which results in the reconstruction of an x of poor technic is incorrect. Let us then cease testing the two exasperating stemmata themselves, and turn to the examination of their results; that is, of reconstructions based upon them. No one has ever attempted the reconstruction of x—for the reason stated *infra*, p. 135—but several scholars have essayed that of x′. Their texts will serve our purpose as well as would texts of x, inasmuch as x′—for reasons similar to those urged in the case of x—was a poem of marked and almost consistent technical excellence.[1] I propose, then, to examine two reconstructions of x′, one of them based on the Oxford stemma, the other on the redactions stemma: the second edition (1878) of Theodor Müller, and the edition of Edmund Stengel.[2] I believe that I can show that Müller's text possesses marked and almost consistent technical merit, that Stengel's possesses many technical imperfections—in which event I shall have proved the correctness of the Oxford stemma.[3]

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[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 112.

[2] Needless to say that these two are the most prominent of the many editions of the poem.

[3] As I have already said (*supra*, p. 112, Note 2), it is barely possible that the technical excellence of O was due to some lost intermediary between x′ and it. In that case my arguments against Stengel's stemma are invalidated. But if Stengel's stemma—that is, the redactions stemma—is correct, we have the unparalleled phenomenon of x′, a poem of many technical imperfections, having been reduced, merely by skillful cutting, to x‴, a poem of marked and consistent technical excellence. Although it is true that some—not many—mediæval poems were improved by retouchers, the phenomenon of a poem having been considerably shortened is, I think, unparalleled. Furthermore, Stengel's stemma, if correct, involves several very improbable conclusions: for example, we must conclude that the scribe of O had the exceedingly good taste to leave intact the greater part of x‴, and, at the same time, the exceedingly bad taste to reintroduce some of the worst technical imperfections of x′, such as

Müller's text is practically the Oxford manuscript. Therefore it possesses, of course, marked and almost consistent technical excellence. Let us turn to the examination of Stengel's text.[1]

The fact that Stengel's supposed x′ contains over six hundred more lines than O, arouses at the outset suspicions of lack of technic. His text tells the same story as is told by O, but uses about five thousand more words in doing so. This smacks of the poetaster.[2]

Our suspicions are confirmed by closer examination. Considered in its entirety, first, Stengel's text shows lack of emphasis. In O, it will be remembered, emphasis is due to the proportionate lengths, and to the proportionate intensities, of the various natural chapters. But in Stengel's text The Quarrel of Roland and Ganelon, and The Treachery, are awkwardly combined into one chapter[3]; and The

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vv. 537–549. and the Baligant Episode.—Even if Stengel's stemma is correct, however, our arguments against it remain justified in spirit, if not in letter: for they help to prove that the reconstruction of x‴, not that of x′, nor even that of x. is the most important task of *Roland* study.

[1] I feel that it would be wrong not to acknowledge emphatically the extent of my indebtedness, in common with all *Roland* students, to Professor Stengel. It may be said of his edition that it is at the same time the most useful, and the most harmful, of books dealing with the *Roland*! It is invaluable. and always will be, because of the mass of critical material which it supplies in convenient form. It is harmful because, in spite of its author's own doubts as to its finality (cf. *Verhandlungen der fünfundvierzigsten Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Bremen*, p. 133), it is now generally accepted as the authoritative text of the *Roland*: upon it are based practically all *Roland* studies of the past decade. And an English translation of it has lately appeared, which will give to general readers a very wrong idea of the *Roland* (*The Song of Roland newly translated into English by Jessie Crosland with an Introduction by Professor L. M. Brandin*, London, 1907).

[2] In this connection I cannot refrain from quoting a passage from an essay in the *Fortnightly Review* for November, 1906, by C. F. Keary. The unpoeticalness of redundancy does not need confirmation, but the applicability of Mr. Keary's remarks to the question in hand is striking. "A redundancy of words is the most unpardonable of all faults in versification. It is almost always such redundancy that marks off the poetaster from the poet. *We may even say that when there are many words employed—although they cannot fairly be called redundant—the Muse is in a pedestrian vein.*" The italics are mine.

[3] For the shift of v. 365 involves the obliteration of the dividing line between the two chapters. Notice also that the correspondence of v. 365 and v. 660, pointed out *supra*, p. 117, Note 9, is no longer effective.

First Encounter and The Second Encounter are treated likewise[1]; with the result that horizontal proportion suffers. So does vertical proportion, for many of the intense passages of O are here ineffective, because of the presence of superfluous strophes or lines.[2] If above we compared the action of O to a succession of ever higher waves, we may now compare that of Stengel's text to a choppy sea.

Let us turn to the composition of the parts; and first, of the chapters. After what has been said just above, it is evident that those chapters—whether there be two, or four, or five of them—which treat of the quarrel, the treachery, and the first and second and third[3] encounters, are badly composed. Several others are just as imperfect: that which treats of the choosing of the rearguard is weakened, if not by strophe lxiv a, surely by lxvi a—nothing should intervene between v. 802 and v. 814[4]; that which treats of the second horn-incident is spoiled by an execrable anticlimax—strophe cxli a, and especially vv. 1850 v–1850 x; the climactic chapter is certainly weakened by strophes cxlii a, cxliv a, cliv a, clxii a, clxviii a—the poet of O's original knew that throughout this chapter, of all chapters, he must proceed rapidly in the straight and narrow path of his story, but the hypothetical poet of Stengel's x′ loitered on the right hand and on the left. To sum up, then, Stengel's text presents seven of the twelve chapters of the story in an impaired form.

Many of the strophes, also, show imperfect composition. Owing to the presence of superfluous lines, or the shifting of important lines, many of them lose unity, coherence, emphasis. This may be best shown by parallel quotations from O and Stengel's x′.[5] Here are vv. 331–336:

[1] By the insertion of strophes cxi a, cxi b, and cxi c. The reader feels vaguely that vv. 1188–1690 should be divided into two, if not three chapters, but he finds no plain boundaries, as he does in O.

[2] For instance, the dramatic ending of the quarrel, which is weakened by the insertion of strophe xxv a and such lines as vv. 333 a–333 e; or the splendid close of chapter vi, which is ruined by strophe cxi a.

[3] In Stengel's text three encounters are described at length, a fact in itself significant of the supposed poet's disregard of proportion. Moreover, owing to the insistence on the third encounter, the second is no longer felt as a pendant to the first, and the similarities and dissimilarities of the two lose their effectiveness (cf. *supra*, p. 118).

[4] Cf. (*supra*, p. 120) the first technical sin of vv. 803–813.

[5] In each instance, however, in order fully to appreciate the perfection of O, and the imperfection of Stengel's text, the reader should examine the context.

O

Le empereres li tent sun guant le destre,
Mais li quens Guenes iloec ne volsist estre.
Quant le dut prendre, si li cait a tere.
Dient Franceis : Deus, que purrat ço estre !
De cest message nos avendrat grant perte.
Seignur, dist Guenes, vos en orrez noveles.

Stengel

Li emperere li tent sun guant le destre ;
E le baston por son message faire ;
Mais li quens Guenes iloec ne volsist estre,
Quant les dut prendre, li caïrent a tere.
Franceis le veient, entr'els molt s'en aaisent.
Por les reprendre Guenes a terre abaisse,
Tel honte en out, por un petit ne desve
Si prïe dé le glorïos celeste,
La vïe face cels quil jugierent perdre.
Dïent Franceis : " Deus, que purrat ço estre ?
Ço senefïe grant dolor et grant perte."
" Seignur " dist Guenes " vos en orrez noveles."

Here are vv. 342–354 a :

Guenes li quens s'en vait a sun ostel,
De guarnemenz se prent a cunreer,
De ses meillors que il pout recuvrer.
Esperuns d'or ad en ses piez fermez,
Ceint Murglies s'espee a sun costed,
En Tachebrun sun destrier est muntez,
L'estreu li tint ses uncles Guinemers.
La veisiez tant chevalier plorer,
Ki tuit li dient : Tant mare fustes, ber !
En la cort al rei mult i avez ested,
Noble vassal vos i solt hom clamer.
Ki ço jugat que dousez aler,
Par Charlemagne n'iert guariz ne tensez.
Li quens Rollanz nel se doust penser,
Que estraiz estes de mult grant parented.
Enpres li dient : Sire, car nos menez !
Ço respunt Guenes : Ne placet damne Deu !
Mielz est que suls moerge que tant bon chevalier.
En dulce France, seignur, vos en irez,
De meie part ma muillier saluez,
E Pinabel, mun ami e mun per,
E Baldewin, mun filz que vos savez,
Et lui aidiez, et pur seignur le tenez.
Entret en sa veie, si s'est achiminez.

Guenes li quens s'en vait a sun ostel,
De guarnemenz se prent a cunreer
De ses meillors que il pout recuvrer ;
Esperuns d'or ad en ses piez fermez.
Ceint ad Murglais al senestre costéd,
En Tachebrun sun destrier est muntez.
Sele ad d'argent et si frein sont dorét.
Toz est coverz d'un molt riche cendel.
L'estreu li tint ses uncles Guinemers ;
Dïent si home : " Sire, car nos menez ! "
Ço respunt Guenes : " Ne placet damnedeu
Qu'en Sarragoce ensemble od mei allez !
Mielz est, suls moerge, que tant bon bacheler.
Se sui ocis et vos dire l'orrez,
Por la meie anme messes faites chanter !
En dulce France, seignur, vos en irez.
De meie part ma muillier salüez
E Pinabel mun ami e mun per
E Baldewin mun filz que vos savez,
Celui aidiez ses honors a guarder ! "
Puis entre en veie, si s'est achiminez.[1]
La veïsiez tant chevalier plorer.
Plaignent et crïent, quant en sont desevrét ;
Dist l'uns a l'altre : " Tant mare fustes ber,
En la rei cort mult avïez estéd ;

[1] The shift of this line, as has already been pointed out (*supra*, p. 128, Note 3), weakens the strophe not only as a unit, but also as a component unit.

> Noble vassal vos i solt hom clamer.
> Ki la t'enveie ja n'iert de nos amez,
> Li quens Rollanz nel se döust penser;
> Car estraiz estes de si grant parenté,
> Que par Charlon n'iert guariz ne tensez,
> Ne seit ocis o a honte livrez."

Analysis is unnecessary. So is further quotation, for whoever desires may make any number of similar comparisons for himself.[1]

The device which we have called the short-strophe group[2] is not handled skillfully in Stengel's text. In those passages which describe the quarrel and the treachery it is conspicuous by its absence.[3]

The device of 'laisses similaires' is handled very unskillfully by Stengel's poetaster. There are nineteen instances of the device in his *Roland*, and seven of them are imperfect.[4] Examine, for example Stengel's 'laisses similaires' in which Oliver begs Roland to summon aid.[5] It will be remembered that they are technically perfect in O.[6] But here the contrary is true. In the first place, there are five strophes, obviously too many: a poet would need to be very skillful to repeat himself effectively five times.[7] In the second place, the last two are exceedingly trite. Finally, in the last three there is no increment: the striking exclamation—that Roland will not wind his horn for Paynims—occurs, to be sure, in the third strophe; but it has already occurred in the first, and occurs again in the fourth.

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[1] Following are the worst strophes in the first 660 lines: ix, xxii. xxiii, xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxix, xliii, xlvii, xlviii, l, lii. It is needless to cite further.

[2] *Supra*, p. 122.

[3] It cannot be answered that, owing to the greater length of Stengel's text, its short strophes are necessarily longer than those of O. The average length of Stengel's strophes—fifteen lines—is practically equivalent to that of O's strophes.

[4] The imperfect instances are: 520–562d; 563–595a; 1049–1092; 1396–1437dd; 1482o–1482zz; 1610–1627p; 1796–1850x. There are besides three passages which *perhaps* are 'laisses similaires' (1737–1752i; 1851–1868n; 2146–2163i); this loose use of the device is significant of the supposed author's lack of technical skill.

[5] 1049–1092.

[6] Cf. *supra*, p. 122–123.

[7] O has only one instance of four 'laisses similaires' (1796–1850), and none of five.

What is in O a most effective line, becomes here a most tiresome one.[1]

As for the individual lines of Stengel's text, very many are imperfect. I prefer, however, not to insist upon this fact, for an editor might often fail in the reconstruction of the correct wording of a line, even though his principles of reconstruction were correct.[2]

The foregoing pages have shown, I hope, that Stengel's text possesses many technical imperfections. I consider, then, that I have proved the correctness of the Oxford stemma.[3]

* * *

Nevertheless, although Müller's conception of the interrelations of the manuscripts was correct, his edition is, in my opinion, unsatisfactory. Not, however, through lack of scholarship on his part —his scholarship, his acquaintance with the problems of Old French phonology and morphology, was of the highest order—but for two reasons which I shall endeavor to set forth in the remainder of this article.

To quote Müller's own words: "Eine Formel, die alles subjektive Urtheil ausschliesst, lässt sich nun einmal für die *Chanson de Roland* nicht aufstellen, und die Herausgeber sind vollkommen im Rechte, wenn sie in den Oxforder Text aus den anderen Redactionen nichts ohne Noth aufnehmen und nur das aufnehmen, was sie aus inneren Gründen für das Echte halten, um das ehrwürdige Denkmal vor fremdartigen Einmischungen zu bewahren und nicht einen Cento daraus zu machen." [4] So his formula—to adopt his expression—may

[1] An example of the harm which Stengel's edition is constantly effecting is to be found in Professor W. M. Hart's *Ballad and Epic*, p. 262. Professor Hart, speaking of repetition in 'laisses similaires,' says: "It is not incremental . . ." He makes this mistake because he has based his investigations on Stengel's text.

[2] Throughout the foregoing discussion of Stengel's reconstruction, I have endeavored to deal only with imperfections due to content, not to wording.

[3] The argument might be made much simpler for any who would accept subjective reasoning. It would run thus: x′ must have been a consistently beautiful poem, for O is such; Müller's x′ is a consistently beautiful poem; Stengel's is not (I cannot understand how any one can contend that it is); therefore the Oxford stemma is correct. Knowing, however, that an argument so subjective would hardly convince defenders of the redactions stemma, I have rested my case on *technical* excellence alone, ruling out of the argument all inferences from the absolute beauty of O.

[4] *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, iii, 447. Stengel, not heeding this warning, has proved the truth of Müller's words.

be reduced to lowest terms as follows: *Never alter the Oxford manuscript to accord with the other redactions except for an imperative reason.* This formula is an obviously correct deduction from the Oxford stemma. The unsatisfactoriness of Müller's edition is partly due to incorrect application of it. He did not invariably practise as he preached—sometimes he did alter O to accord with the other redactions without an imperative reason.[1] In at least two instances this infidelity to principle had serious consequences.

The first instance is his arrangement of the strophes which contain the quarrel of Roland and Ganelon.[2] In O these strophes possess perfect emphasis—in Müller's text they do not. In O Ganelon breaks into a wild rage immediately upon hearing Roland's proposal; this rage becomes a paroxysm when Roland laughs at him; a few moments later, however, when he has regained his senses, his wrath is more calm, but more terrible—he formally defies Roland, Oliver, and the Twelve Peers; he publicly dooms them to death. In Müller's text, on the contrary, his calm and serious anger comes first, his sudden rage—to speak paradoxically—comes *slowly* upon him. Müller has two arguments for thus departing from O.[3] The first is that all the other redactions present his order. This is not in itself cogent, for the unanimity of the other redactions may be due to a mistake in x″.[4] His stronger argument—in his opinion—is as follows: in strophes xxi and xxii of O, Ganelon speaks of Charles' command that he go to Saragossa; therefore strophe xxiv, which contains this command, should stand before xxi; and this change entails the others which are made. But may we not think that when the Franks, in strophe xx, cry out with one accord their approval of Roland's proposal, the King *looks* assent. Evidently every one in the council took it for granted that Charles would follow the advice of his Franks; therefore Ganelon's remarks do not presuppose an actual command. I contend, then, that Müller did not have an imperative reason for changing O's arrangement of these strophes. But if the matter be still doubtful, may we not lay our thesis in one scale, and settle it? Is not the perfect emphasis

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[1] Practically all these mistakes were in regard to problems into which linguistic considerations do not enter. He erred not as a grammarian, but as a logician.

[2] 274–336.

[3] Cf. his edition (1878), p. 21.

[4] It is my opinion that the scribe of x″ changed the order of his original for the very same reason which led Müller to change that of O.

of O's strophes, so in accord with the general technic which we ascribe to x′, a strong argument against any change?

The second instance of Müller's failure to apply correctly his formula, is his arrangement of the strophes which constitute The Second Encounter.[1] In O this chapter is exceedingly clear. From the very first, when, in the poet's words,

Li arcevesques cumencet la bataille,

through the series of combats in which now a Paynim, now a Frank, is victorious, until the moment when the Paynims cry wildly to Marsila for aid, we are never in doubt as to what encounter is being described; then, in the last strophe of the chapter, the poet speaks very briefly of a third encounter, merely mentions a fourth and a fifth, after which only sixty Franks survive—

Ne mes seisante que Deus ad esparmiez . . .
Einz que il moergent, se venderunt mult chier!

There is a very great difference between this and the corresponding chapter in Müller's text: the difference between clearness and vagueness, between order and confusion. From beginning to end we are never sure—Müller himself, by his own confession, was not always sure[2]—just what encounter is being described. The cause of all the trouble is this: Müller has shifted two strophes[3] far from their position in O. He gives two reasons.[4] The first is that all the other redactions show his order. Such a reason, however—as explained above—is not in itself cogent.[5] The second consists of the following argument: vv. 1671–1676 read as follows:

Li quens Rollanz apelet Olivier:
Sire cumpaign, sel volez otrier,
Li arcevesques est mult bons chevaliers,
N'en ad meillor en tere ne suz ciel,
Bien set ferir et de lance et d'espiet.
Respunt li quens: Kar li aluns aidier . . .

therefore the strophe immediately preceding these lines must recount a combat in which the Archbishop figures; In O this condition is

[1] 1438–1690.

[2] Cf. his edition (1878), p. 168.

[3] 1628–1670.

[4] Cf. his edition (1878), pp. 144–145.

[5] It is probable, in my opinion, that the scribe of x″ changed the order of his original because he, like Müller after him, interpreted vv. 1671–1676 too literally.

not fulfilled; in the other redactions it is; therefore the arrangement of the latter is to be adopted. But is it necessary to interpret the conversation of the Counts so literally? It may be that their remarks were of general, not specific, import—"Turpin, a man of God, fights well; we, men of battle, should do likewise." The possibility of this interpretation prevents the contention that Müller's reason is imperative. But, if need be, our thesis may again be thrown into the balance—is not the clearness of O's chapter, so consonant with the technical excellence of x', a strong argument against altering O?[1]

So much for Müller's infidelity to his formula. But his edition is unsatisfactory for another reason—because he reconstructed, not x, but x'; which was, to use his own expression, "eine schon getrübte Quelle." He, in common with most *Roland* scholars, did not consider the reconstruction of the original poem to be feasible, for the reason that the nature of that original was a matter of doubt. Almost all students of the question have thought that between x and x' intervened a long process of accretion. To quote Professor Weeks: "To my mind, the process of development was so gradual that, at no stage of the operation could one say: 'Here begins the Oxford version.'"[2] No editor who holds this opinion would attempt to reconstruct x. But, if my thesis be conceded, it must also be conceded that between x and x', and between x' and O, there was very little accretion, or indeed change of any kind[3]; that, moreover, it is feasible to reconstruct x, merely by excluding from O whatever is due to its scribe, or to the scribe of x'. Here, again, the thesis will be of use: never as sole reason for exclusion—for, as I have already said, our Old French Homer may well have nodded now and then—but often as a confirmatory reason. vv. 1406–1411, for example, are attributable to some copyist on linguistic grounds—technical considerations strengthen the case[4]; vv. 520–536 seem

[1] Scholle, *Der Stammbaum . . . des Rolandsliedes*, pp. 22–23, argues for the retention of O's order in this chapter.

[2] *Modern Language Notes*, xxii, 191.

[3] My thesis proves nothing in regard to the *sources* from which the poet drew his material. He may have compiled folk-songs; he may have remade some story, as Tennyson remade the tale of the *Red Book of Hergest* into his *Geraint and Enid*; he may have collaborated, as Bédier would have it, with the monks of some abbey; he may have spun his own web. Such questions, to my mind, have nothing to do with the reconstruction of the original text of the *Chanson de Roland*.

[4] Cf. *supra*, p. 116, Note 1.

to be a metrical experiment on the part of some copyist—technical considerations remove all doubt.[1] In short, to Müller's formula should be added: *Exclude from the Oxford manuscript whatever may be proved due to copyists.*

* * *

If the foregoing arguments are cogent, the correct and complete formula for the reconstruction of the original *Chanson de Roland* is: (1) Never alter the Oxford manuscript to accord with the other redactions except for an imperative reason; (2) exclude from the Oxford manuscript whatever may be proved due to copyists.[2]

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[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 123.

[2] It is the author's intention to publish a series of articles setting forth in detail (1) the instances in which there is an imperative reason for altering O to accord with the other redactions; (2) the instances in which O may be proved to be due to copyists.

AN INTERPRETATION OF CATULLUS VIII

E. P. MORRIS

V.—An Interpretation of Catullus viii.

Miser Catulle, desinas ineptire,
et quod vides perisse perditum ducas.
Fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles,
cum ventitabas quo puella ducebat
amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla.
Ibi illa multa tum iocosa fiebant
quae tu volebas nec puella nolebat.
Fulsere vere candidi tibi soles.
Nunc iam illa non volt; tu quoque, inpotens, noli,
nec quae fugit sectare nec miser vive,
sed obstinata mente perfer, obdura.
Vale, puella; iam Catullus obdurat,
nec te requiret nec rogabit invitam;
at tu dolebis, cum rogaberis nulla.
Scelesta, vae te! quae tibi manet vita?
Quis nunc te adibit? cui videberis bella?
quem nunc amabis? cuius esse diceris?
quem basiabis? cui labella mordebis?
At tu, Catulle, destinatus obdura.

This vivid and graceful little poem, though it presents few serious textual difficulties and contains no recondite allusions, has nevertheless troubled the judgment of candid interpreters of Catullus. To whom is it addressed? What was the occasion of it? What is its relation to lxxvi? Does it go to prove that Lesbia was a *libertina*? Or is it, indeed, a Lesbia poem at all? It has been used as evidence in support of widely different answers to such questions as these.

The difficulties of interpretation center about the harmonizing of the last part with the first lines. The first half appears to be a Lesbia poem. This view rests primarily upon the phrase in vs. 5, which is repeated with a slight change in xxxvii, 12 and, in substance, in lxxxvii, 1–2, where Lesbia is mentioned by name. Most Catullus scholars, starting perhaps from this phrase, find in the whole first part, vss. 1–8, a sincerity and depth of feeling which is explainable only on the hypothesis that the lines are addressed

to Lesbia. Following out this hypothesis, vs. 4, *ventitabas quo puella ducebat*, has been sometimes, though not universally, understood to be an allusion to the meetings at the house of Allius, while some scholars (Schwabe, Westphal), going still further, have tried to fix the poem chronologically and to connect it with a definite period of alienation between the lovers.

The second half, on the other hand, is applicable to Lesbia-Clodia only with considerable difficulty. Taken by themselves—if, for example, they were a fragment without context—vss. 14–18 would bear only one natural interpretation; they would be understood to be addressed by a lover to the girl whom he was threatening to abandon and who, in her abandonment, would be left to loneliness and unhappiness; that is, they would be understood to be spoken to a woman of the *libertina* class. In particular, the question *cuius esse diceris*? requires—and has had—some very peculiar interpretation, if it was addressed to Lesbia-Clodia and not to a Cynthia (Prop. ii, 8, 6) or Corinna (Ovid. Amor. iii, 12, 5). To these difficulties, which have been often pointed out, must be added the fact that the diction of vss. 14–18 belongs, in a special and technical sense, to the amatory style. The words *dolebis*, *rogaberis*, *adibit*, *bella*, *amabis*, *basiabis*, *labella mordebis* are all technical words of erotic poetry and are illustrated in Pichon (*de Serm. Amator.*). To find another passage so crowded with amatory diction one must go back to comedy, *e. g.*, to Plaut. Pseud. 64 ff. No other poem addressed to Lesbia contains such lines as these; the nearest approach is perhaps in ii (*desiderio*, *iocari*, *doloris*, *ardor*). But if we compare with these lines the poems or parts of poems which manifestly express the strongest emotion, like v or lxviii, 70–72, we find that in the utterance of real passion Catullus speaks not only with force and directness, as we might expect, but also with a true dignity that is quite above the artifices of technical amatory poetry. On the evidence of the style alone, even without the strong evidence of the thought, I think it must be said that vss. 14–18 are either not addressed to Lesbia-Clodia at all, or else are in a tone of quite unusual lightness.

This apparent incongruity between the first half and the last may be explained in various ways. The difficulties would disappear if the hypothesis that this is a Lesbia poem were given up, and it is at least worth while to examine somewhat carefully the grounds on which the hypothesis rests. The phrase *amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla* is, it is true, used again in a Lesbia poem, xxxvii, 12, but such repetitions are very common in Catullus. The instan-

ces are collected by Vahlen (*Ind. Lect.*, Berlin, 1898). He would class the repetition of this phrase with *passer, deliciae meae puellae* (II, 1 and III, 4) and *cui neque servus est neque arca* (xxiii, 1 and xxiv, 5) as intentional repetition in order to remind the reader of a previous poem. But it is very difficult to see in xxxvii anything which could have led Catullus to remember viii or to desire to recall it to a reader. The two poems are about as different in tone as poems could be, too different even to make an effective contrast. I do not see in this repetition anything which distinguishes it with certainty from, *e. g.*, x, 4 and xxxvi, 17 or iii, 1 and xiii, 12. Nor do I find in the words that strength of emotion which some commentators see in them. On the contrary, the phrase is a commonplace of lovers' speech; it is precisely one of those lovers' vows at which Jove laughs, the kind of declaration which fervid youth daily makes to the object of his affections and, it may be, after the lapse of a suitable interval, employs a second or a third time. It is quite true that the words may be used with the strongest emotion and the deepest conviction of their truth, as Catullus uses them in xxxvii, 12, but they are at least equally suited to the humorous attitude. In short, it is a phrase which takes its color from the context, not one so positive that it may properly be used to determine the tone and color of a poem. In a serious poem, it is serious; if the context is playful, this phrase also is light. And yet, though the argument from these words will not bear all the strain that is put upon it, the denial of the reference to Lesbia makes as many difficulties as it removes. For if the *puella* is not Lesbia, who is she? Practically, if we suppose this poem, with all its indications of a past, to refer to some other woman than Lesbia, then we are obliged to say also that the whole relation is nowhere else touched upon by Catullus—a very difficult hypothesis. Nor is it a poem of pure phantasy. The ideal poems of Catullus are quite distinctly marked off from the personal poems; he nowhere introduces himself into them as speaker or actor, as Horace so frequently does. We must still look upon this as a Lesbia poem, though not—and this is of some importance—on the ground of its seriousness and depth of feeling.

A second expedient to explain away the contradictions of the poem would be to deny the identification of Lesbia with Clodia. All the difficulties come from the hypothesis that Lesbia was the wife or widow of a man of consular rank, that she was of the proud Claudian *gens* and a personage in Roman society; if we reverse the hypothesis, the poem becomes harmonious and intelli-

gible and, by that fact, a strong bit of evidence that Lesbia was a *libertina*, like Cynthia. The poem is so used by Riese (Einl. p. 15) in his argument against the Lesbia-Clodia identification. But this way out of the difficulty is, in truth, impossible; the lines of converging evidence are too many and too clear. Lesbia was Clodia, and the interpretation of viii must accept the fact.

In general, the editors of Catullus, taking the first part of the poem as a serious and pathetic appeal to Lesbia-Clodia, are obliged to reconcile it with vss. 14–18 by minimizing the force of the latter. The details are in the commentaries and need not be repeated here. Some editors (*e. g.*, Ellis) pass over the difficulties in silence, others face them and attempt special explanations. Thus Baehrens thinks that the predictions of loneliness may refer to the social isolation which may have threatened Clodia on account of the suspicion that she had poisoned her husband. Friedrich, in explaining the strangeness of *cuius esse diceris?* addressed to Clodia, reminds us, quite justly, that the very notoriety of such an intrigue would probably have been an added attraction to her. But these explanations do not cover the whole ground nor even the most difficult points; Clodia would still have her court of admirers; and all editors are obliged to fall back upon the expedient of saying that Catullus was in truth quite in the dark in regard to the position and character of his mistress. "Nimirum cur a Lesbia desertus esset, Catullus adhuc nesciit" (Baehrens); "die Stelle zeigt, dass dem C. keine Untreue Lesbias bekannt war" (Riese); "he has as yet no notion that Lesbia's coldness to himself is connected with other intrigues" (Merrill); "das ist begreiflicherweise Selbsttäuschung. Es traf, wie C. später selbst einsah, bei Clodia in keiner Weise zu" (Friedrich). Undoubtedly the scholars who offer this explanation do so with a full understanding of the fact that it leaves much to be desired. The credulity, the unconsciousness, which it presupposes on the part of Catullus is too great. Clodia had been a figure in Roman society before Catullus came from Verona; gossip had been busy with her name; it is hard to suppose that the young man ever believed himself to be her first or her only admirer; the peculiar phrasing of xxxvii, 13, *pro qua mihi sunt magna bella pugnata*, must be due to the recollection of rivalries, not of the mere difficulties of meeting. But this, after all, is not the main point. If we try to satisfy ourselves by supposing that Catullus was unaware of Clodia's position and surroundings, we have still to account for the fact that, in predicting the consequences of her coldness, he uses terms which so

imperfectly describe the situation of a lady of position who had sent away her lover, but which describe with such accuracy the situation of a woman of the *libertina* class who had lost her lover and protector. It is not enough to account for the negative implications of the passage; the positive coloring of these verses must also be explained, the heaping-up of amatory phrases, the deliberate employment of the language of the half-world.

It will be seen that whatever difficulties of interpretation the poem presents are not in the verses themselves, but in the adjustment of them to what is known of the life of Catullus and his relation to Clodia. Taken by itself the poem is a specimen of a particular class, fairly well represented in Latin literature, and the interpretation will, I hope, gain something by a study of the type of which it is a representative.

The essential characteristic of the type is that it pictures the lover proclaiming his determination to break away from his mistress. Its simplest form is in comedy. The opening lines of the Eunuchus (46–49) present the type in outline:—

> Quid ígitur faciam? nón eam ne núnc quidem
> quom accéssor ultro? an pótius ita me cómparem,
> non pérpeti meretrícum contumélias?
> exclúsit; revocat: rédeam? non si me óbsecret.

The unhappy young lover is represented as trying to meet the inconstancy of his mistress by an angry acceptance of her sentence of dismissal. The picture is wholly humorous, the contrast between the vehement expressions of determination and the underlying weakness being brought out in the comments of the slave, vss. 50–70. Horace, in his paraphrase of the scene (Sat. ii, 3, 259–271) perceives and sets forth the humor of the situation. In Plautus there are several scenes of the same kind. In Truc. 759–769 the lover is represented as in the same state of anger and expressing the same determination not to submit to the inconstancy of his mistress, but two further elements are added; he threatens the girl and he is himself half-conscious of the weakness of his resolutions (766 f.). So in Bacch. 500–525 the lover is in a whirl of conflicting emotions. He tries to accept the situation (502, illum éxoptavit pótius? habeat: óptumest, cf. Eun. 49), hardens his heart (504), and breaks out into threats (503, 506, 507b, 512 ff.), the last threat being in substance that he will abandon her to poverty. At the same time he is represented as conscious of his weakness and as betraying it—in the broad manner of Plautus—by the παρὰ προσ-

δοκίαν of 505: ni ego illam exemplis plúrimis planéque—amo, and by the admissions of 509 ff. The scene in Asin. 127–152 brings out still more plainly certain characteristic marks of the type. The lover refers to the happiness of the past (141), hardens his heart with the consciousness of his wrongs (135 ff.) and pictures himself in the attitude of firmness (*me specta modo*, 145). The language also is pathetic, 127 ff., *ingrata* and *inrita* 136, *adii* and *animum . . . dedi* 141, *scelesta* 148. But the wrongs from which the speaker is suffering were inflicted by the girl's mother in the character of *lena*, and it is against her that the threats are directed, so that the whole has in part the characteristics of an ordinary *leno* scene.

These illustrations of the type are from comedy and are all in soliloquy (for the speech in Eun. 46–49 is not addressed to the other person on the stage), and there is a certain advantage in the dramatic form. It separates the speaker from the writer and makes it possible to express more easily the two essential, but somewhat contradictory, elements. Through the speaker of the soliloquy the writer may pour out the storm of indignation, weakness, threats and soft-heartedness, while the humorous side of such an exhibition of emotion may be suggested through another speaker. This is the way that Terence takes to let the audience see that all the emotion is simply a lover's quarrel—*inimicitiae, indutiae; bellum, pax rursum*, as Parmeno says. It is in the confident assurance of the observer that the *bellum* will in due course be followed by *pax rursum* that the humor mainly lies. Plautus, however, does not use the second speaker for this purpose, but allows the consciousness of weakness to show itself in the lover's own words, the writer himself standing by, as it were, in the character of the humorous observer.

In the similar scenes in elegy or in lyric poetry the writer necessarily follows the method of Plautus, rather than that of Terence. He cannot use the device of a second speaker, but must so frame the lover's speech that it shall express the firm determination to break away, and at the same time betray the underlying sense of weakness; his lover must be at the same moment openly desirous of going and secretly hopeful that he may be asked to stay. The form of soliloquy, also, which lyric and elegiac poetry have taken over from comedy, requires that the writer shall identify himself with the lover. This he may do more or less completely, making the poem personal to himself or, if the identification is merely formal, treating the situation as an ideal one. It will be seen that different poets in their use of the type emphasize different elements.

Unfortunately there is nothing in the fragments of the Greek lyric which surely illustrates this type. Nor is there any single poem in the Palatine Anthology which can be used as a parallel. There are, of course, the laments of disappointed lovers, predicting to girls an unhappy old age, but all is in miniature, while this kind of lyric demands a certain space for its presentation. In Latin elegy and lyric, however, the type is well represented.

Propertius has two examples. In ii, 5 Cynthia has been notoriously unfaithful and her lover is threatening to leave her. There is the usual reference to the past (*amata diu*, 8) and to her having been called his *puella* (vs. 6) and there are many self-exhortations to firmness, mingled, as if involuntarily, with betrayals of weakness (9, 10, 13, 15 f.). The definite threat with which the poem closes is that the lover will make her infidelity known through his poetry. The corresponding poem, iv, 25, is shorter and somewhat closer to the general type:—"Cynthia is unfaithful, though I have served her faithfully for five years. Now it is over and I am leaving her, weeping, it is true, but sustained in my resolve by the sense of my wrongs. Farewell to the threshold and to the door! But you shall grow old in loneliness and shall suffer in turn the pangs of unrequited love." Here again are the same outlines; the lover regrets the past, strives to be firm, is conscious of his weakness, bids the girl a lingering farewell (still hoping that the pathos may move her), and finally predicts for her a life of unhappiness without love. In both poems Propertius identifies himself fully with the lover and apparently uses the typical form as a means of expressing his real feeling on a definite occasion. As compared, therefore, with the soliloquies of comedy, the pathetic and indignant element is rather over-emphasized, and the humor—a quality in which Propertius is notably deficient—is merely implied in the prolonged farewell and the other indications of conscious weakness. The threats in iv, 25 take the form of a prediction that old age will bring wrinkles and gray hair, and that the girl will then find no one to love her.

In the love-poetry of Horace all is humorous. He maintains consistently the attitude of the humorous observer of the mutations of young love, and in so far his tone is a return to that of comedy. In consequence of this and of the general lightness of touch which he preserves in his verses on love, the other element, the lover's indignation and distress, is somewhat slightly expressed. In his most characteristic pictures, too, like i, 5 and i, 13, it is the coquette who is triumphant, dismissing a lover only to receive his rival, and Horace, identifying himself merely in a formal way with the rejected

lover, directs his predictions of unhappiness against his rival, not against the girl, as in Asin. 127 ff. the threats are directed against the girl's mother. The one poem in which Horace has most closely followed the type is Epode xv. Here are the same elements that Propertius uses, the reference to past happiness (vss. 1–10), the indignant resolve to break away (11–14), the apparently unconscious betrayal of weakness (15–16), and the predictions of unhappiness (vs. 11, to the girl, *o dolitura . . . Neaera*; vss. 17–24, to the rival).

In the adaptation of such a type as this to varying circumstances it is to be expected that the emphasis would be differently distributed by poets of different temperament. The essential element is the humorous portrayal, through a soliloquy, of a lover trying to win back the favor of the girl by the threat—which he both hopes and fears that he may not carry out—of leaving her forever. With this, as secondary elements, go usually some reference to the happiness of the past and some prediction of the misery that will ensue, if he is allowed actually to go. In Plautus the emphasis is upon the comic side, upon the lover's sudden changes of temper. In Terence, with finer art, a second speaker is used to give the contrast. Propertius, limited by the laws of elegy, by his own deficiencies of temperament and by the fact that he was using the type for a particular occasion, expresses the indignation of the lover and the predictions of unhappiness with almost too much of personal sharpness, while the humor is merely suggested. Horace is primarily the humorous observer and only secondarily the lover; it is the threatening element that he treats most lightly. There is a similar variety in the handling of other well-known types of poem, the προπεμπτικόν and παρακλαυσίθυρον, in spite of the definiteness of the accompanying action or the fixed scene.

If, with these characteristics of the type in mind, we return to Catullus viii, the question of its interpretation would now take this form:—how far did Catullus modify the type and upon what elements of it did he lay special emphasis?

The essential elements are of course present and not greatly changed. The poem is, in general form, a soliloquy; like Propertius and Horace, Catullus assumes the attitude of the offended lover. He has thus a double part to play; as lover, he is deeply in earnest, as observer and poet, he suggests with delightful humor the underlying hope of reconciliation. (Some editors remark, upon these lines, that Catullus does not seem to know his own mind. That is quite true of Catullus, as the lover; but Catullus the poet knew very well what he was doing.) Of the secondary elements, the

reference to the happiness of the past is treated in vss. 3–8 with a vividness of which neither Propertius nor Horace was capable. This is Catullus' peculiar province. Even in an ideal poem like xlv his treatment of passionate love has all the spontaneity of a personal emotion. Postponing for a moment the question whether or how far the poet is here addressing Lesbia, we must recognize the fact that these lines are here because they belong to this type of poem, not because Catullus was in love with a particular woman. The corresponding verses in Horace's Epode, vss. 1–10, are not, in themselves, an expression of the writer's personal feeling. The same distinction is to be made in regard to the pathos of the repeated line *fulsere . . . soles.* It is pathetic, as Macaulay somewhere says, but the pathos is for the *puella,* not for the reader. Catullus the lover in this little dramatic lyric tries to touch the heart of the girl, but Catullus the poet trusted to the acuteness of his readers—and of Lesbia—to see that this is only a scene in a pretty comedy. Finally, the other element, the threatening predictions, Catullus expresses in a series of impassioned questions which are more a reminder of what has been than a prophecy of what may be, as Horace, in a different way, avoids the crudities of comedy and the bitterness of Propertius.

Taken by itself and interpreted by comparison with other poems of the same type, this poem is not difficult. It is not by any means the record of an attempt on the part of Catullus to break off a love-affair with some girl, whether Lesbia or another; that record is written, in very different words, in lxxvi. It is a light and humorous presentation of a lover—Catullus himself playing the part—trying to move the heart of an inconstant girl by appeals and pathos and sternness and threats.

There still remains the question how far this poem is to be adjusted to the circumstances of Catullus' life. Or, in other words, how far has Catullus, in using this type of poem, changed it in order to adapt it to the expression of his feeling toward a particular person, on a particular occasion? To answer this question it is necessary to go back to some general principles of the interpretation of Catullus.

Of his purely ideal poems, lxii, lxiii, lxiv, lxvi and especially xlv, nothing need be said beyond what was said above, that they are marked off from the personal poems by a clear line. This is not one of them, and nothing that has been said above of its typical character is meant to be understood as implying that it is also ideal.

At the other extreme are the obviously personal poems, of which both Catullus and Horace have many. But the poems of Catullus are much more difficult to interpret. In the first place, the persons to whom Horace alludes are for the most part known to us from other sources, men in public life or distinguished in literature, while in Catullus the persons with whom he deals are often quite unknown—Furius and Aurelius, Veranius and Fabullus. And, in the second place, the odes of Horace are often deliberately charged with allusions which make them self-explanatory, complete in themselves. Catullus rarely works in this deliberate way; he goes straight to the point of his poem and the personal allusions are incidental. Such verses as Horace Carm. ii, 1, 9–16, which are a skilful mosaic of allusions to the varied activities of Pollio's career, are not to be found in Catullus, not even in xxix or xiv. Even such an ode as Carm. i, 20, though the precise occasion for it is unknown, is complete in itself. The proportion of mere inference, therefore, in the interpretation of Catullus and the proportion, too, of the insoluble is much greater than in Horace.

A like difference between the two poets must be frankly recognized in the interpretation of the poems which lie somewhere between the extremes, neither purely ideal nor strongly personal, the typical poems, like viii, which have nevertheless some personal reference or application. Such a poem is Hor. Carm. i, 16, a palinode—a well-known type—which Horace has apparently addressed to a particular person. The *filia pulchrior* cannot, it is true, be identified, but the poem, in itself, is intelligible and enjoyable, in spite of the fact that the circumstances which called it forth are unknown to us. The kind of interpretation which Boeckh calls *generische Interpretation*, by comparison with other like poems, is reasonably satisfying. Further knowledge would do little more than gratify a natural curiosity. The same thing may be said of Catullus lxx:—

> Nulli se dicit mulier mea nubere malle
> quam mihi, non si se Iuppiter ipse petat.
> Dicit; sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti,
> in vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua.

This is an epigram of a somewhat definite kind. A parallel to it is in *Anthol. Pal.*, v. 6:—

> Ὤμοσε Καλλίγνωτος Ἰωνίδι, μήποτε κείνης
> ἔξειν μήτε φίλον κρέσσονα μήτε φίλην.
> Ὤμοσεν· ἀλλὰ λέγουσιν ἀληθέα, τοὺς ἐν ἔρωτι
> ὅρκους μὴ δύνειν οὔατ' ἐς ἀθανάτων.

Νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἀρπαγιζῷ θέρεια περί· τῆς δὲ ταλαίνης
ῥέμφεται, ὡς Μεγαρέων, οὐ λόγος οὐδ' ἀριθμός.

This epigram, attributed to Callimachus, may indeed have been the model for Catullus; he has omitted the reference to Megara and has substituted the figure of wind and running water for *οὔτ' ἐς ἀθανάτων*, but has kept the framework *ὄμοσε—ὄμοσε* in the words *dicit—dicit*. At any rate, the type is the same and the poem is almost complete in itself. Not much is added to its effectiveness by the identification of *mulier mea* with Clodia, especially if *nubere* be taken, with Friedrich, in its less precise sense. It is only when *nubere* is taken to be a reference to a legal marriage, that is, only when the poem contains some reference to a specific act, that personal identification adds much to the point of such typical poems. In fact, the identification of the persons alluded to in a poem is much like the fixing of the date of composition; it is of value not for itself, but for the light which it may shed upon the poem, and for the light which the poem may then reflect upon the life of the writer. If a poem is so general in tone and contains so few definite references that its date cannot be fixed, either absolutely or relatively, then, conversely, it is almost always a poem which would gain little by being dated. The vagueness which makes the dating impossible, makes it also valueless. The same thing is true of personal identification; poems which abound in specific allusion contain the material for identification and become clearer by such identification; but reflective poems or those which conform closely to a type and are but slightly charged with personality are less easily connected with an individual and gain little by such connection. It is possible that the Alfenus of xxx is P. Alfenus Varus, but the possibility or the certainty adds little to the poem; that stands by itself as an expression of poetic emotion, highly artificial in structure and meter and undoubtedly interesting to the writer on the artistic rather than on the personal side. So it is that viii should be understood and appreciated. It is a beautiful little work of art, worthy to hang by the side of Horace's Epode xv, less mellow, but not less humorous, superior in fire and greatly superior in the vivid presentation of the lover's quickly changing moods.

But, though this is the point of view from which the poem is to be understood and appreciated, it is not necessary to stop here. Catullus has, in all probability, used the typical poetic form to express something of his feeling toward a particular person,

Lesbia-Clodia, and it is necessary to consider how far, in thus using it, he has modified the type. The first part, the reference to the happiness of the past, may be the warmer because it is addressed to Lesbia, but there is otherwise nothing specifically personal in it. The expression in vs. 4, *ventitabas, ducebat,* is certainly suggestive of some definite reference, but it cannot be harmonized with the description of the first meeting at the house of Allius, lxviii, 70–72, 132–134. The second part, the picture of the petulant lover, indignant, hoping, fearing, also conforms closely to the type, with only such touches of individuality as would be expected from Catullus. The third part, the threats and predictions of loneliness, is likewise adopted bodily from the type, but of the various forms which these predictions may take Catullus has with perfect taste chosen the one which best suits the playful tone of the poem. To have foretold to Clodia the evils which actually befell her in her later career, to have reminded her, as Propertius reminds Cynthia, of the old age that would destroy her charms, or to have used any form of threat which would have suggested real and serious distress, would have been to spoil utterly the lightness of tone, the delightfully humorous *persiflage* of the poem. As the picture of the lover is drawn in conventional lines and is by no means a portrait of himself, so the threats are merely the conventional threats, which by their very inapplicability to Clodia remind her that it is all a jest and by their playfully amorous form of expression remind her that Catullus is still her lover.

The connection of this poem with Lesbia does not, therefore, lead to any considerable modification of the type nor change essentially the natural interpretation; it helps to explain the warmth of vss. 3–8 and it adds something to the playfulness of vss. 14–18. But it reflects a certain light upon the relation of these two extraordinary personalities by reminding us of the play of wit and humor that undoubtedly formed a part of their attraction for each other. Viewed in this way, viii is to be classed with iii, 11–18, lines which we may be sure Clodia read with a smile, with vii, in which wit and passion are mingled, with xiii, 9–14, with xxxvi and with lxxxxii. The lighter aspect of the relation seems at times to be too little noticed; Catullus might have said of himself, as well as of Lesbia, *carum nescio quid libet iocari.*

There is, then, a certain gain in recognizing the fact that this is a Lesbia poem; it adds to the meaning of the poem and to our understanding of the writer. But the further step which some

scholars would take, connecting viii with a definite point in the intrigue, is, I am convinced, an error. In fact, there runs through much of the interpretation of Catullus a mistaken and even harmful desire to connect every poem with some particular event and give it a place in the chronology of Catullus. But it is plain that there are important sides of Catullus' life —*e. g.*, his relation to his father—which are not in any way alluded to in his poetry, and we cannot properly draw from his silence such conclusions as Ferrero has drawn (Engl. transl., Vol. ii, p. 47 f.). I am not seeking to lessen the value of the elaborate and painstaking structure of inference that Schwabe has reared in his *Quaestiones*, but only to point out that such inferences should be very painstaking. The suggestion in an excellent commentary on lx that this was "perhaps the last verse penned by Catullus as his strength failed him and death came on," illustrates the danger of the method. For this collection of poems and verses is not a methodical record of a life. Catullus was a poet, not a diarist, and the interpretation of his writings must be founded upon the motives, the traditions, and the ideals of a poet. This is particularly true of the Lesbia poems. In a relation so agitated, so uneven, between persons so vehement, it may be said to be certain that there were many ups and downs. As Parmeno says (Eun. 57 f.).

> Quaé res in se néque consilium néque modum
> habet úllum, eam consílio regere nón potes.

To attempt to connect viii with any particular period in that history and especially with some period of estrangement is wrong in method. All that can be said of it is that Catullus once paid Lesbia the compliment of admitting her dominion over him by a humorous portrayal of himself in the character of a lover trying to touch her heart by the vain threat of leaving her. Quite certainly Lesbia appreciated both the humor and the compliment.

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CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE JĀIMINĪYA BRĀHMAṆA

HANNS OERTEL

VI.—Contributions from the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa[1] by Hanns Oertel.

I. Prajāpati creates the Worlds, Vedas, and Vyāhṛtis. Their respective use for expiation (JB. i. 357–358).

The cycle comprises AB. v. 32–33, ÇB. xi. 5. 8, ṢB. i. 5. 6–8. JB. i. 357–358, Chānd. Up. iv. 17, and JUB. iii. 15. 4–17. 10. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* ii, 139, connects it with the brahmodya RV. vii. 33. 7. The passage from the Çāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa which Sāyaṇa quotes for this verse together with its parallels from JB. ii. 239–240 and TMB. xx. 15. 1–5 are given in *JAOS.* xviii, 33–34.

1. Text.

JB. i. 357. 1. prajāpatiḥ[2] prajijanishata.[3] sa[4] tapo tapyata. 2. sa āikṣata hanta[5] nu pratiṣṭhāṁ janayāi[6] tato yāḥ[7] prajās[8] sṛkṣye[9] tām[10] etad eva pratiṣṭhāsyanti nā 'pratiṣṭhitāç[11] carantīḥ[12] pradarpiṣyanta[13] iti. 3. sa imaṁ lokam ajanayad[14] antarikṣalokam[14] amuṁ lokam iti. 4. tān imāṁs trīṁ lokāṁ janayitvā 'bhyaçrāmyat[15] tān[16] samatapat.[17] tebhyas[18] saṁtaptebhyas trīṇi[19] çukrāṇy udāyann[20] agniḥ pṛthivyā vāyur antarikṣād[21] ādityo divaḥ. 5. sa etāni çukrāṇi punar abhy evā[22] 'tapat.[23] tebhyas saṁtaptebhyas trīṇy eva çukrāṇy udāyann[24]

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[1] This is the seventh of a series of articles the first of which appeared in *JAOS.* xviii, p. 15, the second, *ibid.* xix, p. 97, the third in *Actes du onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, vol. i, 1899, p. 225, the fourth in *JAOS.* xxiii, p. 325, the fifth, *ibid.* xxvi, pp. 176 and 306, and the sixth, *ibid.* xxviii, p. 81. [2] A. -ti. [3] B.C. -jagniṣ- [4] All mss. s [5] A. -tā, B.C. bha- [6] All mss. -ye, as in JUB. iii. 15. 4. [7] A. yatāṁ [8] A. -jā, as JUB. iii. 15. 4, B.C. pujā [9] So all mss. here and JUB. iii. 15. 4. I am inclined to admit the irregular form here, and restore it in JUB. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar*, § 936 b and 793 h for a similar confusion of strong and weak forms in the perfect. [10] So all mss. here and JUB. iii. 15. 4 where this reading should probably have been retained although a locative, tasyām, would be expected. [11] B.C. om. nā 'pratiṣṭhi [12] A. -nti [13] B.C. -dasiṣy-. JUB. iii. 15. 4 reads here pradaghiṣyanti. For the ÇB. form draps- see Whitney, *Grammar*, § 936 d. [14] B.C. om. [15] B.C. hy-, A. -ya, D. -yas. [16] B.C. ta [17] B.C. -paṁk [18] B.C. tabh- [19] A. trīṇaç [20] A. udānayaṁn [21] B.C. -tir- [22] A. ovā. B.C. epā [23] B.C. ta udvat [24] B.C. om. A. -yan

ṛgveda[1] evā[2] 'gner[3] yajurvedo[4] vāyos sāmaveda[5] ādityāt. 6. sa etāni çukrāṇi punar abhy evā 'tapat. tebhyas saṁtaptebhyas trīṇy eva çukrāṇy[6] udāyan[7] bhūr ity eva[8] ṛgvedād bhuva iti[9] yajurvedāt svar iti sāmavedāt. 7. tad etad[10] dha vāi trayyāi[11] vidyāyāi[11] çukram.[12] etāvad idam sarvam.[13] sa[14] yo[15] vāi trayīṁ[16] vidyāṁ viduṣo lokas so 'sya loko bhavati ya evaṁ veda.

358. 1. sa vāi khalu prajāpatir[17] yajñaṁ sṛṣṭyo[18] 'rdhva[19] udakrāmat.[20] 2. sa devān abravīd etena yūyaṁ trayeṇa vedena yajñaṁ tanudhvam iti. 3. te[21] devā anena trayeṇa vedena[22] yajamānā apa[23] pāpmānam apāghnata[24] pra svargaṁ lokam ajānaṁs te 'bruvan yan[25] nu[26] vayam[27] anena trayeṇa vedena yajamānā apa[28] pāpmānam[29] avadhiṣmā[30] 'bhi[31] pra svargaṁ lokam[32] ajñāsiṣma.[33] yan nu no 'dyā 'yaṁ[34] yajño bhreṣann iyāt[35] kenāi[36] 'naṁ bhiṣajyāme[37] 'ti. 4. tān prajāpatir abravīd yad vā etasya trayasya vedasya teja indriyaṁ vīryaṁ[38] rasa[39] āsīd idaṁ vā[40] ahaṁ tad va[41] udayaccham ity etā[42] vyāhṛtīḥ[43] prāyaccham[44] etābhir enaṁ bhiṣajyāthe[45] 'ti. 5. sa yadi yajña ṛkto bhreṣann[46] iyāt[47] bhūs[48] svāhe 'ti gārhapatye juhavātha.[49] sāi 'va tatra[50] prāyaçcittiḥ. 6. atha yadi yajuṣṭo[51] bhuvas[52] svāhe 'ty āgnīdhre juhavātha.[49] sāi 'va tatra prāyaçcittiḥ. 7. atha yadi sāmatas[53] svas[54] svāhe[55] 'ty āhavanīye juhavātha.[49] sāi 'va tatra prāyaçcittiḥ. 8. atha yadī 'ṣṭipaçubandheṣu vā darçapūrṇamāsayor[56] vā bhuvas[52] svāhe 'ty anvāhāryapacane[57] juhavātha.[49]

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[1] B.C. ṛçve [2] A. om. [3] A. -e [4] A. -vāid-
[5] D. sāmasa [6] B.C. çukriyāny [7] C. udayān [8] B.C. om.
[9] B.C. it [10] B.C. omit, as does JUB. iii. 15. 9. [11] B.C. -e
[12] B.C. çum [13] B.C. -vay [14] B.C. om. [15] B.C. yāu
[16] A. -yī. B.C. -yima [17] A. prati, D. pratir. [18] BC. suṣṭvā.
[19] A. dhva. B.C. ddhva. [20] A. -an, B.C. udakrān. [21] B.C. ta.
[22] B.C. vāidevā [23] D. pa [24] All mss. apāgh-. [25] B.C. cā
[26] A. om. [27] B.C. vacanam [28] A.D. ava
[29] A.D. -ṁ. B.C. -ṁm [30] A.D. vadhiṣmam, B.C. avadhiṣṭham
[31] B.C. hi, D. ehi [32] B.C. -aṁm [33] A.D. ajñāviṣṭhi
[34] A.D. -yen
[35] A.D. iyāt, as read the mss. in JUB. iii. 17, 1, and see below, critical note 47. [36] D. -e [37] B.C. -jyāṣe [38] B.C. vīryyema
[39] A. manyasa [40] A. va [41] A.D. vam, B.C. sam
[42] B.C. ed [43] B.C. -ti [44] All mss. -chaṁ [45] B.C. yathe
[46] A.D. bhreṣaṇ, B.C. eṣaçn [47] A.D. iyāt, see above, critical note 35.
[48] All mss. bhū
[49] B.C. -hu-; for -vā- see Whitney, *Grammar*, §§ 560, e and 650. b.
[50] A.D. repeat sāi 'va [51] A.D. juṣṭo, B.C. yajuṣo [52] All mss. -va
[53] B.C. -ta [54] AD. sa, B.C. sva [55] A.D. sāhe [56] D. dardha-
[57] A.D. -avac-

sāi 'va tatra prāyaçcittiḥ.[1] 9. atha yady anupasmṛtāt[2] kuta[3] idam[4] ajani[5] 'ti bhūr bhuvas[6] svas[7] svāhe 'ty āhavanīye juhavātha.[8] sāi 'va tasya sarvasya prāyaçcittiḥ.[9] 10. tad yathā çīrṇaṁ tat parvaṇā parva saṁdhāya[10] bhiṣajyed[11] evam evāi 'vaṁ vidvaṁs tat sarvaṁ bhiṣajyaty[12] atha yasyāi 'tad avidvān prāyaçcittiṁ[13] karoti yathā çīrṇena[14] çīrṇaṁ saṁdadhyāc[15] chīrṇe[16] vā bharam[17] adhyādadhyāt[18] tādṛk tat. 11. tasmād u hāi 'vaṁvidam[19] eva[20] prāyaçcittiṁ kārayeta. 12. tad āhur yad ṛcā hotṛtvaṁ[21] kriyate yajuṣā 'dhvaryavaṁ[22] sāmno[23] 'dgītho[24] 'tha kena brahmatvaṁ kriyata iti. anayā trayyā vidyaye[25] 'ti ha brūyāt. tasmād u[26] yam[27] eva brahmiṣṭham[28] manyeta taṁ brahmāṇaṁ[29] kurvīta. sa ha vāva brahmā ya evaṁ veda.

2. Translation.

357. 1. Prajāpati desired to procreate. He performed fervid devotions.[30] 2. He desired: 'Come now, I will create a foundation so that the creatures which I shall create will firmly stand upon it,[31] not, walking without a firm foundation, stumble.[32] He created this world, the world of atsmosphere, [and] yonder world. 4. Having created these three worlds he exerted himself, he thoroughly heated them. From them thoroughly heated three luminous [bodies] went up: Agni from the earth, Vāyu from the atmosphere, Āditya from heaven. 5. These luminous [bodies] he again heated up. From them thoroughly heated three luminous [bodies] went up: the Rigveda from Agni, the Yajurveda from Vāyu, the Sāmaveda from Āditya.

[1] A.B.C. -çcittiritir. [2] A.D. -uva- [3] B.C. kṛta [4] B.C. itim
[5] B.C. ajuni. [6] All mss. -va [7] A.D. om.
[8] B.C. -hu-: for -vā- see Whitney, *Grammar*, §§ 560. e and 650. b.
[9] B.C. repeat tasya sarvasya prayaçcittiḥ. [10] B.C. -yā
[11] A.D. ntiṣajyed [12] A. abhiṣaj-, B.C. abhiṣij-, D. abhiṣuj-
[13] B.C. -ttam [14] B.C. om. [15] A.B.C. -dhyā [16] D. chir-
[17] This is the reading of A and D. B.C. read haram, ÇB. xi. 5. 8. 6 garam. see the note below. [18] A.D. adhyādrapsyāt [19] B.C. -dem
[20] B.C. a [21] A.B.C. -tratv- [22] A.D. dhvaryyubā
[23] B.C. sameno [24] B.C. -thā [25] D. vidye [26] A.D. a
[27] B.C. bham [28] A. brahmiṣum, D. brahmiṣṭhur. B.C. brahiṣṭham
[29] B.C. brāhmaṇam
[30] Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, I, 1, 1894. p. 182, 'Beide Vorstellungen, die der Bebrütung und die der Selbstkasteiung werden wir immer gegenwärtig halten müssen, wo von dem *tapas* die Rede ist.'
[31] I cannot parallel the accusative in this construction.
[32] See the notes below.

6. These luminous [bodies] he again heated up. From them thoroughly heated three luminous [bodies] went up: 'bhūs' from the Rigveda, 'bhuvas' from the Yajurveda, 'svar' from the Sāmaveda. This same, verily, is the luminous [essence] of the threefold knowledge. So great is this All. Verily, what the world of one who knows the threefold knowledge is, that becomes the world of him who knows thus.

358. 1. Now then Prajāpati having created the sacrifice went up upward. 2. He said to the gods: 'Extend ye[1] the sacrifice by means of the threefold Veda.' 3. These gods, performing their sacrifice by means of this threefold Veda, smote away evil, they found (the way to) the heavenly world. They said: 'In that we, performing our sacrifice by means of this threefold Veda, have smitten away evil we have found (the way to) the heavenly world. If now today our sacrifice here should go stumbling, how shall we heal it?' 4. Prajāpati said to them: '[With the words:] "What was the splendour, power, strength, [and] essence of this threefold Veda that, for sooth, I offered up[2] unto you," I bestowed these sacred utterances; with them ye should heal it.' 5. If[3] this sacrifice should go stumbling in respect of the ṛc ye should make an offering in the gārhapatya-fire, [saying:] '*bhūs svāhā*'; that is the expiation in that case. 6. And if in respect of the yajus, ye should make an offering in the āgnīdhra, [saying:] '*bhuvas svāhā*'; that is the expiation in that case. 7. And if in respect of the sāman, ye should make an offering in the āhavanīya-fire, [saying:] '*svas svāhā*'; that is the expiation in that case. 8. And if either in the havis- and animal sacrifices[4] or in the new-moon and full moon sacrifices, ye should make an offering in the anvāhāryapacana-fire, [saying:] '*bhuvas svāhā*'; that is the expiation in that case. 9. And if in respect to something not remembered, [when they say:] 'Whence hath this arisen?,' ye should make an offering in the ahāvanīya-fire, [saying:] '*bhūr bhuvas svas svāhā*'; that is the expiation for this all. 10. As one would mend something broken [by] putting together joint with joint, even so one who knows thus mends all this, and if one who does not know thus performs the expiation for anyone, that is exactly as if one were to put something broken with something broken, or as if one were to put a load on something that is broken. 11. And

[1] This is Whitney's rendering of the technical term; Eggeling translates it by 'spread (perform).'

[2] A first person present would seem more appropriate in this quotation.

[3] This should really form part of Prajāpati's speech, but it is not so marked.

[4] The case here changes to the locative.

therefore one should appoint only one who knows thus to perform the expiation. 12. They say this: 'Inasmuch as the hotṛ's work is performed by means of the ṛc, and the adhvaryu's work by means of the yajus, and the udgātṛ's work by means of the sāman, now then by what means is the brahman-priest's work performed?' He should say: 'By means of this threefold knowledge.' And therefore one should appoint him the brahman-priest whom one considers the best brahman-priest. And truly he is a brahman-priest who knows thus.

3. Notes.

JB. i. 357 is verbatim like JUB. iii. 15. 4–9 with two exceptions only, viz. JUB. iii. 15. 4 reads pradaghiṣyanta for JB. i. 357. 2 pradarpiṣyanta, and JUB. iii. 15. 9. reads tad eva tad dha vāi for JB. i. 357. 7 tad etad dha vāi.

AB. v. 32. 1 corresponds in substance with JB. i. 357. 1 and 3–6; it has nothing parallel to JB. i. 357. 2, but adds that from the three vyāhṛtis in turn the syllable oṁ was extracted and apportions the Vedas to their respective priests.

ÇB. xi. 5. 8. 1–4 (first half) corresponds in substance with JB. i. 357. 1–6; ÇB. xi. 5. 8. 4 (second half) contains the apportionment of the Vedas to their respective priests parallel to AB. v. 32. 3.

ṢB. i. 5. 7 is very concise and, reversing slightly the order of creation, makes Prajāpati first create the three Vedas, from them he extracts the vyāhṛtis, and these, in turn, become the three worlds.

Chānd. Up. iv. 17. 1–3 substantially corresponds to JB. i. 357. 1 and 3–6. There is no exact parallel to JB. i. 357. 7 = JUB. iii. 15. 9 in the other texts.

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2. pratiṣṭhām: Cf. ÇB. vii. 1. 2. 1 (end), 2, 3, 8.

pradarpiṣyante: The Petersburg dictionaries do not give any finite forms of the √dṛp + pra nor the meaning of 'stumble' to the root dṛp. The sense of 'stumble' which I have given here to the compound verb pra-dṛp might also be suggested for the simple root dṛp in ÇB. iii. 2. 1. 9: atha yad agra eva madhya upaviçed ya enaṁ tatrā 'nuṣṭhyā hared drapsyati vā pra vā patiṣyatī 'ti tathā hāi 'va syāt. Eggeling translates this: 'Were he, on the other hand, to sit down at once in the middle (of the skin) and were any one there to curse him, saying, "He shall either *become demented* or fall down headlong," then that would indeed come to pass.' But

the context seems to favour 'he shall stumble,'[1] 'miss his footing,' 'er soll stolpern' (The commentary explains drapsyati by dṛptaḥ kutsitagatir bhaviṣyati). If so interpreted. ÇB. iii. 2. 1. 9 is parallel to[2] ÇB. xiii. 1. 3. 4, 2. 1. 6: īçvaro vā eṣaḥ parān pradaghor yaḥ parācīr āhutīr juhoti, and TB. i. 3. 7. 7. (p. 57, 8): īçvaro vā esaḥ parāñ pradaghaḥ, and the √dṛp in ÇB. iii. 2. 1. 9 is identical in meaning with the √dagh + pra in ÇB. xiii. 1. 3. 4, 2. 1. 6, TB. i. 3. 7. 7 exactly as the √dṛp + pra in JB. i. 357. 2 is identical in meaning with the √dagh + pra in JUB. iii. 15. 4. The meanings 'toll sein,' 'ausgelassen sein,' 'übermütig sein' which the Petersburg dictionaries assign to the √dṛp are easily reconciled with 'stumble' ('skip'). Compare especially the combination of dṛpta with unmutta in AB. ii. 7. 8: yāṁ (scil. vācaṁ) vāi dṛpto vadati yām unmattaḥ sā vāi rākṣasī vāk, where the commentator (p. 290, 6) takes dṛpta in the sense of 'overbearing.'

JB. i. 358. The chapter falls into three parts: (a) Prajāpati turns the sacrifice over to the gods, 1–4; (b) The specific expiation pertinent to mistakes in the several Vedas, 5–11; and (c) How does the brahman-priest, though not possessing a Veda of his own, participate in the sacrifice?

On the whole, AB. v. 32. 4–33. 1 is the closest parallel to our text: (a) = AB. v. 32. 4, (b) = AB. v. 32. 5–6, (c) = AB. v. 33. 1.

In ÇB. xi. 5. 8 the turning over of the sacrifice by Prajāpati to the gods is implied; (b) = ÇB. xi. 5. 8. 5–6, (c) = ÇB. xi. 5. 8. 7.

ṢB. i. 5. 8 parallels (b).

Chānd. Up. iv. 17. 4–8, 10 parallels (b), with a special gāthā, not found elsewhere, added in 9.

JUB. iii. 17. 1–3 parallels (b) but is widely divergent in the wording and contents, and JUB. iii. 17. 4–10 parallels, but only remotely, (c).

For (b), Lāṭy. ÇS. iv. 11. 4 and a section from an Atharvaveda Prāyaçcittasūtra published by Caland in *WZKM.*, *xviii*, 1904, p. 202 furnish further parallels.

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[1] Cf. the √hvar, VS i. 2 (ÇB. i. 7. 1. 11, for other references see Bloomfield's concordance) dṛṁhasva mā hvāḥ, 'stand steady, do not waver,' and √hval, ÇB. v. 1. 3. 6 = 14 = 5. 4. 34, hvalati vā eṣa yo yajñapathād eti, 'he verily stumbles who departs from the path of the sacrifice,' and especially ÇB. v. 2. 4. 20. tam eva tat pratyag dhūrvati, 'him indeed he thus causes to fall backward.'

[2] See PW. under √dagh + pra.

Text	Source of lapse	Name of fire	Expiatory utterance
JB.	ṛc	gārhapatya	bhūs svāhā
ĊB.	„	„	bhūs
AB.	„	„	bhūs
ŚB.	„	„	bhūs svāhā
Chānd. Up.	„	„	bhūs svāhā
JUB.	„	the brahman priest offers in the āgnīdhra	bhūs bhuvas svar
Ath. Prāy.	„	gārhapatya	oṁ bhūs
JB.	yajus	āgnīdhra; in case of iṣṭipaçubandhas or darçapūrṇamāsas in the anvāhāryapacana (= dakṣiṇāgni)	bhuvas svāhā
ĊB.	„	āgnīdhrīya; in case of haviryajña in the anvāhāryapacana (= dakṣiṇāgni)	bhuvas
AB.	„	āgnīdhrīya; in case of haviryajñas in the anvāhāryapacana (= dakṣiṇāgni)	bhuvas
ŚB.	„	anvāhāryapacana (= dakṣiṇāgni)	bhuvas svāhā
Chānd. Up.	„	dakṣiṇāgni (= anvāhāryapacana)	bhuvas svāhā
JUB.	„	the brahman-priest offers in the āgnīdhra	bhūr bhuvas svar
Ath. Prāy.	„	dakṣiṇāgni (= anvāhāryapacana)	om bhuvo janat
JB.	sāman	āhavanīya	svas svāhā
ĊB.	„	„	svar
AB.	„	„	svar
ŚB.	„	„	svas svāhā
Chānd. Up.	„	„	svas svāhā
JUB.	„	the brahman-priest offers in the āgnīdhra	bhūr bhuvas svar
Ath. Prāy	„	āhavanīya	om svar janat
JB.	"anupasmṛta"	āhavanīya	bhūr bhuvas svas svāhā
ĊB.	"avijñāta"	„	"sarvāṇy anudrutya"
AB.	"avijnātā sarvavyāpad vā"	„	bhūr bhuvas svar
JUB.	"anupasmṛta"	the brahman priest offers in the āgnīdhra	bhur bhuvas svar
Ath. Prāy	atharva	āhavanīya	oṁ bhūr bhuvas svar janat

1. ūrdhvaḥ: Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 243, p. 187; Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, § 48, p. 78–79.

5. sa yadi etc.: the table on p. 161 shows the agreement and discrepancies of the different parallel texts in detail.

10. çīrṇe vā bharam: the reading garam in the very close parallel of ÇB. xi. 5. 8. 6 is so problematic an improvement, as far as the sense of the passage is concerned, that I have retained the reading of A and D (though bhāram would be preferable). The comparisons in the other texts are less close, cf. the note to JUB. iii. 17. 3.

II. Ceremonies connected with the Atirātra-sacrifice. The race of the gods for the āçvina-çastra. The marriage of Prajāpati's daughter. (JB. i. 208–213.)

1. Text.

JB. i. 208. 1 ahno[1] 'surā nuttā[2] rātriṁ[3] prāviçaṅs[4] te devā etāni sāmāny[5] apaçyann[6] etān[7] paryāyaṅs[8] tāir enān anvabhyavāyaṅs[9] tān[10] paryāyeṇā[11] 'ghnan.[12] 2. yat[13] paryāyam aghnaṅs tat paryāyāṇāṁ paryāyatvam. paryāyam eva dviṣantaṁ bhrātṛvyaṁ hanti ya evaṁ veda. 3. ye prathamarātreṇa channā āsaṅs tān prathamena paryāyeṇā 'ghnan. yat prathamasya paryāyasya prathamāni padāni punarādīni bhavanti ye prathamarātreṇa channā bhavanti tān eva tena ghnanti. 4. ye madhyarātreṇa channā āsaṅs tān madhyamena paryāyeṇā 'ghnan. yan madhyamasya paryāyasya madhyamāni padāni punarādīni bhavanti ye madhyarātreṇa[14] channā bhavanti tān eva tena ghnanti. 5. ya uttamarātreṇa channā āsaṅs tān uttamena paryāyeṇā 'ghnan. yad uttamasya paryāyasyo 'ttamāni padāni punarādīni bhavanti ya uttamarātreṇa[15] channā bhavanti tān eva tena ghnanti. 6. punarabhighātam[16] vāvāi[17] 'nāṅs[18] tad aghnan. yathā vāi hatvā

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[1] A.D. nho, B.C. anho [2] B.C. -á [3] B.C. -iḥ
[4] All mss. prā- [5] A.D. -ni [6] A.D. paç- [7] B.C. -āt
[8] A.D. -yāṁs. B.C. -yas [9] D. ān-, B.C. anvāhya-
[10] A. inserts prathamena [11] B.C.D. paryyāyam
[12] B.C. aghnanan

[13] From here on there are a considerable number of patent transpositions. omissions, and repetitions in the mss. which I have not thought it worth while to report.

[14] D. madhyamarā-, this is also the reading of TMB. ix. 1. 16 and KS. xvii. 8. [15] A.D. pararātreṇa, B.C. var-. [16] B.C. -api-
[17] B. vave, B.C. vavāi, D. vāve. [18] A.B.C. nās

punar[1] hanyāt[2] tādṛk tat. punarabhighātam eva dviṣantaṁ bhrātṛvyaṁ hanti[3] ya evaṁ veda.

209. 1. çarvarī vāi nāma rātriḥ. te devā abruvann api vāi naç çarvaryām[4] abhūd iti. tad evā 'piçarvarāṇām[5] apiçarvaratvam. api ha[6] vā asya çarvaryāṁ bhavati ya evaṁ veda. 2. asureṣu vā[7] idam agra āsīt. tad[8] devā abhijityā[9] 'bruvan kena[10] nv ahorātre uparishṭāt saṁdadhyāme 'ti. ta etad[11] rathaṁtaraṁ saṁdhim apaçyaṁs tenā 'horātre[12] upariṣṭāt[13] samadadhur[14] yat samadadhus tat saṁdhes saṁdhitvam.[15] 3. āçvinaṁ ha khalu vāi[16] saṁdher uktham. mahati[17] rātre saṁdhinā stuvanty ā sūryasyo[18] 'diter[19] āçvinam anuçasyate 'horātrayor eva saṁtatyā ahorātrayos[20] samāraṁbhāya.[21] 4. ahorātre[22] devā abhijitya te vajram eva paridhim akurvata paçūnāṁ guptyā[23] asurāṇām anabhyavacārāya.[24] tad yad etā uṣṇiho 'ntataḥ kriyante vajro[25] vā[26] uṣṇiho vajreṇāi 'va tat paçūn parigṛhṇanty[27] anaparopāya.[28] nā 'sya vittam[29] aparopyate[30] ya evaṁ veda.

210. 1. asureṣu vā idam[31] agra[32] āsīt.[31] tad[33] devā[31] abhijityā[34] 'bruvan vī 'daṁ bhajāmahā iti. 2. tasya vibhāge na[35] samapādayaṁs[36] te 'bruvann ājim asyā 'yāme 'ti. 3. ta[37] ājim āyann agneḥ prathamo[38] ratha āsīd[39] atho[40] 'ṣaso 'thā 'çvinos[41] tāv açvināv açvī açvyām[42] atyakurutām.[43] 4. tāu dravantāv[44] agniḥ paryudatiṣṭhat.[45] tāv[46] abrūtām[47] ati nāu sṛjasve[48] 'ti. ne 'ty abravīd anu[49] nu mā

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[1] B.C. puna

[2] A. hanyā, D. hanyat, B.C. haṇyāt (for the lingual ṇ after punar see note to JUB. i. 5. 1, Whitney. *Grammar*, § 194, Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, I. p. 191, § 171 and the interesting division samudre ṇa suggested for RV. iii. 36. 7 by Bloomfield, *JAOS.* xxvii, p. 77.

[3] D. haranti [4] A. çarvayam [5] B.C. -vār- [6] B.C. bha

[7] B.C. vā [8] B.C. te [9] B.C. -jātā [10] B.C. tena

[11] B.C. -ṁḥ, D. -ṁd [12] B.C. -tro [13] B.C. pariṣṭhāt

[14] B.C. samadayuy [15] A.D. -tvām [16] D. vāis

[17] B.C. mahiti [18] A. -ye, B.C. -yā [19] A.D. deter, B.C. deto

[20] A. horat- [21] A. -bhay- [22] B.C. -ā [23] A.C. gupyā

[24] A.B.C. nabh- [25] A. -e

[26] A. nvā; B.C. read enāi 'va for vajro vā uṣṇiho [27] A. -ṇaty

[28] A.D. aparāpāya, B.C. aparāvāvāya [29] B.C. -aṁ [30] B.C. parop-

[31] B.C. om. [32] A.B.C. om. [33] B.C. om., A. a. D. ta

[34] A. bhi- [35] D. -ā [36] B.C. saṁmapādenayaṁs

[37] All mss. tā [38] A.D. -maṁ [39] B.C. ād [40] B.C. adho

[41] D. aç-

[42] B.C. açyaṁçyām; neither here nor below at 213. 6 have I been able to emend the text. [43] B.C. atvākurutām [44] D. drv-

[45] A.D. yadatiṣṭhat [46] D. tā [47] D. brūtām

[48] B.C. sṛṁjasve [49] A.D. ana

'bhajatam[1] iti. tṛtīyaṁ[2] ta ity abrūtām āvābhyāṁ[3] tv evā 'khyāyatād iti. tathe 'ti tāv atyārjata.[4] 5. tāu dravantā uṣāḥ[5] paryudatiṣṭhat.[6] tāv abrūtām ati[7] nāu sṛjasve 'ti. ne 'ty abravīd anu[8] nu mā 'bhajatam iti. tṛtīyaṁ ta ity abrūtām[9] āvābhyāṁ[10] tv evā[11] 'khyāyatād iti.[12] tathe 'ti tāv atyārjata.[13] 6. tā[14] udajayetām.[15] sa ya[16] etām açvinor[17] ujjitiṁ[18] veda yatra[19] kāmayata ud iha[20] jayeyam ity ut tatra[21] jayati. ya[22] u evāi 'tām agneç co 'ṣasaç[23] cā 'nvābhaktiṁ[24] veda yatra[25] kāmayate[26] 'nvābhakta iha syām ity anvābhaktas tatra bhavati. 7. tasmān nānādevatyās[27] stuvanty[28] athā 'çvinam ity evā 'khyāyate. vārevṛtaṁ hi tat tayoḥ.

211. 1. ahorātrayor vāi devāsurā[29] adhisaṁyattā āsaṁs te devā ahar abhyajayann athā 'surā ṛcaṁ[30] ca[31] rātriṁ ca prāviṁçan. 2. te devā abruvann ardhino[32] vā asya bhuvanasyā[33] 'bhūma kathaṁ satrā rātrim abhijayema ratnāir[34] nv[35] abhyavāyāme[36] 'ti tava[37] chandase 'ty agnim[38] abruvaṁs tava stomene 'tī 'ndraṁ tava saṁpade 'ti prajāpatiṁ yuṣmākam āyatanene 'ti viçvān[39] devān. 3. yad agnim abruvaṁs tava chandase 'ti tasmād gāyatrīṣu stuvanti yad indram abruvaṁs tava stomene 'ti[39] tasmāt[40] pañcadaçastomo rātrer yat prajāpatim abruvaṁs tava saṁpade 'ti tasmād anuṣṭubhaṁ saṁpadyate yad viçvān devān abruvan yuṣmākam āyatanene 'ti[40] tasmāj jagatyo 'nuçaṁsanti. 4. tān[41] saṁdhinā[42] 'bhipalāyantā[43] 'çvinenā[44] 'saṁheyam[45] agamayann[46] asaṁheyaṁ[47] ha vāi dviṣantaṁ bhrātṛvyaṁ gamayati[48] ya evaṁ veda.

212. 1. ahorātrābhyāṁ vāi devā[49] asurān[50] nirhṛtya[51] tāṁs trivṛtāi[52] 'va vajreṇā[53] 'bhinyadadhur ime vāi lokās trivṛta[52] ebhir evāi 'nāṁs

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[1] B.C. jātam [2] B C. mṛt- [3] A.D. avābhyoṁ, B.C. āvāhyā
[4] B.C. atyājata [5] B.C. puṣpā [6] A.D. ryud- [7] A.B.C. iti
[8] A.D. ana [9] B.C. tā [10] B C. evā- [11] A. enyā
[12] A.D. om. [13] B.C. athy- [14] B.C. tāv [15] B.C. uteja-
[16] B.C. om. [17] A.B.C. avinor [18] B. ūrjitaṁ, B.C. irjitaṁ
[19] B.C. traya; after yatra A.D. repeat kāma yatra [20] B.C. ibha
[21] A. taratra [22] A.D. tatra [23] B.C. saç [24] B.C. tvā-
[25] B.C. traya [26] B.C. kāmate [27] A.D. -tyāssa, B.C. -tyā
[28] B.C. repeat ā stuvanty [29] A. devā asurā
[30] A. ṛca, B.C. macaṁ [31] A. om. [32] B.C. açvino
[33] B.C. -yavā [34] so D; A. rakair, B.C. ratter [35] All mss. anu.
[36] A. -vāyā-, B.C. -vāyām- [37] B.C. taç [38] B.C. -iv
[39] The words from viçvān to stomene 'ti are found in D only; D. viçvān
[40] The words from tasmāt to āyatanene 'ti are omitted in A, and B.C. omit yuṣmākam āyatanene 'ti. [41] B.C. tāt [42] B.C. saṁtiddhinā
[43] A. -āyatv, D. -āyaṁtv [44] A.D. açv-, B.C. -nonā
[45] D. saṁhyeyam, B.C saheyaṁ [46] B.C. om.
[47] A.D. asaṁhyeyam, B.C. om. [48] D. gamati [49] D. dedevā
[50] A. surā [51] B.C. -yas [52] All mss. tṛv- [53] B.C. vajrāṇā

tal lokāir abhinyadadhus[1] tasmād[2] āhur nāi 'va tāvad asurā anvā-bhavitāro[3] yāvad ime lokā bhavitāra ity ebhir[4] hi lokāir abhinihitāḥ. 2. eṣā vā agniṣṭomasya ca saṁvatsarasya ca saṁmā yad[5] rātriç[6] caturviṅçatyardhamāsas[7] saṁvatsaraç[7] caturviṅçati[8] rātryā[9] ukthāma-dāni triṇi savanāni trayaḥ[10] paryāyā[11] rātrim eva tat[12] triṣavaṇāṁ kurvanty atho enān tad ahna iva samutkalpayanti. 3. ahorātre devā abhijitya[13] te 'mum ādityaṁ savanāir eva pratyañcam anayaṁs[14] taṁ paryāyāiḥ punaḥ prāñcaṁ tam āçvinena purastād[15] udastabhnuvaṁs[16] tasmād āhur[17] no 'dite sūrya āçvinam anuçasyam[18] iti vi hāi 'naṁ[19] gamayati.[20] 4. sa ya etad[21] evaṁ[22] veda nīto[23] 'sya savanāir asāv ādityaḥ[24] pratyañ bhavaty ānītaḥ[25] punaḥ paryāyāih prāñ[26] uttab-dhaḥ[27] purastād āçvineno 'bhe[28] asyā[29] 'horātre[30] spṛte avaruddhe[31] bhavato bhogāyā 'smā ādityaḥ[32] ketūṅç[33] carati.

213. 1. athāi 'ṣa rāthaṁtaras[34] saṁdhir[35] bhavati. 2. prajāpatir uṣasaṁ[36] svāṁ duhitaraṁ[37] bṛhaspataye prāyacchat.[38] tasyā etat sahasram āçvinaṁ vahatum anvākarot.[39] 3. sa devān abravīd[40] iyam[41] eva mama yuṣmākam etad itarad[42] iti. tasmād yadā[43] 'nṛçaṁso[44] jāyāṁ[45] vindate vy eva vahatum[46] ādiçati.[47] 4. te devā abruvan vī 'daṁ bhajāmahā iti. 5. tasya vibhāge na samapādayaṁs te 'bruvann[48] ājim asyā 'yāme 'ti. 6. ta ājim āyann agneḥ prathamo ratha āsīd atho 'ṣaso[49] 'thā 'çvinos tāv açvināv açvī açviyam[50] atya-kurutām.[51] 7. tāu devā abruvan[52] vāro 'yaṁ[53] vām atha nas sahā 'stv iti. tasmān nānādevatyās[54] stuvanty[55] athā 'çvinam ity evā[56]

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[1] A.D. abhityadadhu [2] B.C. tasyād [3] B.C. -āha-
[4] B.C. -bhi [5] A.D. yada, B.C. yaṁd [6] A.D. triç
[7] B.C. om. [8] B.C. -ī [9] A.D. rā- [10] A.D. -ya
[11] A.D. veryyāryyā, [12] A.B C. ta, D. tnat [13] A.D. -jatya
[14] B.C. ān- [15] B.C. pyar- [16] B.C. udattabdha ivaṁs
[17] B.C. āhaṁ [18] B.C. itiçasyam [19] A namaṁ, B.C. nammaṁ
[20] B.C.D. gayati, A.D. omit the following sa. [21] B.C. tad
[22] B.C. ivaṁ [23] A.D. nīto [24] B.C. īdityaṁ [25] B.C. -tāḥ
[26] B.C. prāṁd [27] A.D. upt- [28] B.C. he [29] A syā
[30] B.C. ahor- [31] B.C. -ruṁdhe [32] A. -a [33] A.D. kāikuṁç
[34] A.D. rathaṁtara [35] B.C. santir [36] B.C. uṣām
[37] A.C. -hitaṁ [38] B.C. prāyaçcit [39] A. anvāhakarot
[40] A.D. -vī [41] A.D. yam [42] A.D. -ra [43] A.D. ya
[44] B.C. nṛṁçaso [45] A.D. -yāṁ [46] D. hatum [47] A. āviç-
[48] D. brūv- [49] B. so
[50] B.C. read açvyaçvām for açvī açviyam; see above at 210. 3
[51] A.D. -kurat-, B.C. atyākurutām. [52] D. abrūv-
[53] All mss. vare. and A.D. yā for 'yaṁ.
[54] B. -dāiv-, all mss. -yā [55] A.D. suvanty, B. sustuvanty.
[56] B. om.

'khyāyate 'gnaye[1] prathamāya stuvanty atho 'ṣase[2] 'thā[3] 'çvibhyām[4] evaṁ hy eṣām etā[5] ujjitayaḥ. 8. ekaṁ sāma dve chaṁdasī[6] dvipadam[7] eva[8] tac catuṣpātsu[9] paçuṣv adhyūhati[10] tasmād[11] dvipāc catuṣpadaḥ[12] paçūn adhitiṣṭhati. 9. anudite sūrye paridadhyād yaṁ kāmayeta pāpīyān syād iti[13] pāpīyān eva bhavati.[14] 10. vyuṣite paridadhyād yaṁ kāmayeta nā 'rvāñ[15] na paras[16] syād iti nāi 'vā[17] 'rvāñ[18] na paro bhavati bahuvarṣī ha tu[19] parjanyo bhavati. 11. udite paridadhyād yaṁ kāmayeta çreyān syād rucam[20] açnuvīte 'ti çreyān eva bhavati rucam[21] açnute.

2. **Translation.**

208. 1. Driven from day, the Asuras entered night. The gods saw these sāmans; they rounded them[22] (the Asuras) up; by means of these (sāmans) they went down after them; by means of the 'round' they slew them. 2. Because they slew them rounding them up, therefore the 'rounds' are named so. Rounding him up he slays the hateful rival who knows thus. 3. The [Asuras] who were concealed by the first part of the night, those they slew by means of the first 'round.' In that the first stanzas of the first 'round' are repeated, thereby they slay those who are concealed by the first part of the night. 4. The [Asuras] who were concealed by the middle part of the night, those they slew by means of the middle 'round.' In that the middle stanzas of the middle 'round' are repeated, thereby they slay those who are concealed by the middle part of the night. 5. The [Asuras] who were concealed by the last part of the night, those they slew by means of the last 'round.' In that the last stanzas of the last 'round' are repeated, thereby they slay those who are concealed by the last part of the night. 6. With repeated blows they slew them. As, having struck [a man], one might strike again, so is this. With repeated blows he slays his hateful rival who knows thus.

209. 1. The night, indeed, is called 'the Dark.' The gods said: 'Verily, we have gained a share[23] in the Dark.' This in the reason

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[1] D. ag- [2] B. -so [3] A.D. thām, B. om. [4] A.D. aç-
[5] B. ethā [6] B. chaṁdāṁsi, and inserts ta [7] B. -pād- [8] B. evaṁ
[9] B. -pāt [10] B. adhūh-, B. addhūh- [11] A.D. -mo, B. -mā
[12] B. -pādā [13] B. inserts pārtthi [14] A. bhaṁditi, D. bhavaditi
[15] B. rvaṁda [16] A.D. -a, B. -i [17] B. vā [18] B. rvaṁda
[19] B. bhavatu for ha tu [20] A. ṛcam, D. dūcam [21] A.D. rūc-
[22] √i + pari, for the sake of the etymology of paryāya.
[23] √bhū + api, impersonally construed as √as + api (P.W. s. v.)

why the Dark-sharing[1] [-metres] are called so. He, indeed, gains a share in the Dark who knows thus. 2. In the beginning this [universe] was with the Asuras. The gods, having conquered it, said: 'By what means may we join together day and night at the end'? They saw this rathaṁtara-sāman as joint, by means of it they joined together day and night at the end. Because they joined them together that is the reason why the saṁdhi[-stotra][2] is called so. 3. Addressed to the Açvins, indeed, is the çastra[3] of the saṁdhi [-stotra]. In the dead of night they chant the saṁdhi[-stotra], till the sun has risen they recite thereafter the [çastra] addressed to the Açvins, in order to connect day and night, in order completely to encompass day and night. 4. The gods having won day and night made the thunderbolt the enclosure[4] for the protection of the cattle, so that the Asuras should not rush down upon [them]. Now as to the fact that these [verses in the] uṣṇih-metre are used at the end,—the [verses in the] uṣṇih-metre are the thunderbolt; by means of the thunderbolt they thus enclose the cattle, in order that they may not be torn away. His property is not torn away, who knows thus.

210. 1. In the beginning this [universe] was with the Asuras. The gods, having conquered it, said: 'Let us divide it among ourselves.' 2. They could not agree as to its division. They said: 'Let us run a race for it.' 3. They ran a race for it. Agni's chariot was first, then [came that] of the Dawn, then [that] of the Açvins. These two Açvins . . .[5] 4. As these two were driving along, Agni blocked [their way]. The two said: 'Let us pass.' 'No,' said he, 'unless you two give me a share.' 'One third [be] thine,' they said, 'but let it be named from us two only.' [Saying:] 'Yes,' he let the two pass. 5. As these two were driving along, the Dawn

[1] A mechanical translation to bring out the pun.

[2] 'Indépendamment de quelques parties de chant semées çà et là dans la cérémonie, on a vu que l'agniṣṭoma comporte en tout douze grandes exécutions en trio. Chacune d'elles se nomme un stotram.' Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. xii.

[3] 'A chaque stotra des chantres doit répondre une récitation solennelle (çastram), séquence plus ou moins longue de stances du Rig-Véda, déclamée par un seul officiant, soit le hotar, soit un autre prêtre du rite de ce Véda.' Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. xiii.

[4] I. e. 'les trois bûches d'enceinte, de la longueur du bras du sacrifiant, qu'on pose respectivement à l'ouest, au sud et au nord de l'āhavanīya avant d'y faire oblation' (Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. xxxv).

[5] I have not been able to make good sense out of the next words.

blocked [their way]. The two said: 'Let us pass.' 'No,' said she, 'unless you two give me a share.' 'One third [be] thine,' they said, 'but let it be named from us two only'. [Saying:] 'Yes,' she let the two pass. 6. These two won out. He who knows this victory of the Açvins, where he wishes: 'May I win out here,' there he wins out. And, likewise, he who knows this participation of Agni and the Dawn, where he wishes: 'May I be a participator here,' there he becomes a participator. 7. Therefore [while] they chant [verses] addressed to several divinities, yet is [this çastra] named after the Açvins only, for that was their chosen boon.

211. 1. The gods and the Asuras were [engaged] in a contest about day and night. The gods conquered day, then the Asuras entered both the ṛc and night. 2. The gods said: 'Verily, sharers in [only] half of this creation have we become; how may we completely conquer night? Let us descend with [our] treasures.' 'With thy metre,' they said to Agni, 'With thy stoma,'[1] [they said] to Indra, 'With thy success,' [they said] to Prajāpati, 'With your abode,' [they said] to the All Gods. 3. Because they said to Agni: 'With thy metre,' therefore they chant [verses in] the gāyatrī-metre; because they said to Indra: 'With thy stoma,' therefore the fifteenfold stoma belongs to the night; because they said to Prajāpati: 'With thy success,' therefore he accomplishes the anuṣṭubh; because they said to the All Gods: 'With your abode,' therefore they recite thereafter with the jagatī[-metre]. 4. By means of the saṁdhi [-stotra] they put them to flight, by means of the [çastra] addressed to the Açvins they caused [them] to go to [their] undoing; he causes his hateful rival to go to [his] undoing, who knows thus.

212. 1. The gods, having ousted the Asuras from day and night, held them down with the threefold thunderbolt. These worlds are threefold, with these worlds they thus held them down. Therefore they say: 'So far as these worlds will be, so far the Asuras will not be present.' For they are held down by these worlds. 2. Verily the night[-service] is the identical measure of the Agniṣṭoma and of the year. The year has twenty-four half-months, and the ukthas and potations of the night[-service] [amount to] twenty-four. There are three pressings and three rounds. In this way they make the night[-service] composed of three pressings. And likewise they thus shape them out from the day. 3. The gods, having won

[1] 'La manière dont s'exécute un stotra est dite le stoma, et chaque stoma porte un nom technique tiré de ses particularités d'exécution,' Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. xii f.

day and night, led yonder sun westward by means of the pressings; [they led] him eastward again by means of the rounds; they braced him up in front by means of [the çastra] belonging to the Açvins. Therefore they say: 'The Āçvina[-çastra] should not be recited when the sun has risen.' For he causes him (the sun) to depart. 4. He who knows this thus — yonder sun becomes led by him westward by means of the pressings, brought again eastward by means of the rounds, braced up in front by means of the Āçvina[-çastra], both day and night become won, obtained, by him, for his enjoyment the sun shines.

213. 1. Now the saṁdhi[stotra] is [chanted to] the rathaṁtara [tune]. 2. Prajāpati gave his own daughter Uṣas to Bṛhaspati in marriage. He brought this āçvina[-çastra consisting of a] thousand [bṛhati-verses] as her wedding-gift. 3. He said to the gods: 'I [will take nothing] but this [woman], you [shall have] the rest.' Therefore, when a noble-minded [man] wins a wife he distributes the wedding-gift all around. 4. The gods said: 'Let us divide it among ourselves.' 5. They could not agree as to its division. They said: 'Let us run a race for it.' 6. They ran a race for it. Agni's chariot was first, then [came that] of the Dawn, then [that] of the Açvins. These two Açvins . . .[1] 7. The gods said to these two: '[Let] the boon [be] yours, but let it be ours at the same time. Therefore they chant [verses] addressed to various divinities, yet [the çastra] is named after the Açvins only; to Agni they chant first, then to Uṣas, then to the Açvins, for in this manner were these their victories. 8. One sāman [there is], two metres. He thus places the two-legged [man] on the four-legged animals, therefore the two-legged [man] mounts the four-legged animals. 9. He should pronounce the final stanza while the sun has not [yet] risen, if he should wish with regard to a any one: 'May he be worse,' he certainly becomes worse. 10. He should pronounce the final stanza at break of day, if he should wish with regard to any one: 'May he be neither here nor yonder,' he certainly is neither here nor yonder. But Parjanya becomes full of rain. 11. He should pronounce the final stanza when the sun has risen, if he should wish with regard to any one: 'May he be better, may he obtain splendour,' he certainly becomes better, he obtains splendour.

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[1] I have not been able to restore the next words.

3. Notes.

208. 1–2 correspond to AB. iv. 5. 3 (= GB. ii. 5. 1), TMB. ix. 1. 3.

2. paryāyāṇām: 'There are many different stomas, or forms of chanting stotras ... All these stomas ... have two or more different varieties or arrangements, called viṣṭuti, differing from one another either in the order in which the several verses are to be chanted or in regard to the number of repetitions which the corresponding verses have to undergo. Besides stomas are generally performed in three turns or rounds, paryāya, consisting of a triplet of verses (some of which may have to be repeated more than once)' Eggeling, *SBE.*, vol. xxvi, p. 308, note 2; cf. also Caland and Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, I, 1906, pp. xxxv, 159 (no. 129) and 237 (no. 155).—For the paryāyas in connection with the atirātra-sacrifice see Eggeling *SBE.*, vol. xli, pp. xvii f., 12 note 5, Hillebrandt, *Rituallitteratur*, p. 138 § 71.

208. 3–5 correspond to KB. xvii. 8, TMB. ix. 1. 4–5, 16, 19, AB. iv. 5. 4 (= GB. ii. 5. 2) and, with further elaborations, AB. iv. 6. 4–6.

208. 6. corresponds, more or less closely, to KB. xvii. 8, TMB. ix. 1. 22, AB. iv. 6. 7.

209. 1. The parallel passage AB. iv. 5. 5 (= GB. ii. 5. 1) has a similar punning etymology with √as + anu and api.

2. saṁdhim: 'The distinctive feature of the Atirātra-sacrifice ... is an 'overnight' performance of chants and recitations, consisting of three rounds [paryāya] of four stotras and çastras each ... The twelve stotras, each of which is chanted to a different tune, are followed up at daybreak, by the Sandhi-stotra, or twilight-chant, consisting of six verses (Sāma-veda S. ii. 99–104) chanted to the Rathantara tune' (Eggeling, *SBE.* vol. xli, p. xvii f.). 'Each of the three couplets is, as usual, sung as a triplet, the three thus producing the nine verses of the Trivṛt-stoma. The Rathantara tune, to which the couplets are to be sung, is given in the Uhyagāna (Sāmaveda, vol. v, p. 381) but with different verses, viz. Sāma-veda i. 30, 31 (abhi tvā çurā nonumo), the verses most commonly sung to that famous tune. The chanters' manuals of the Atirātra (e. g. Ind. Off. MS. 1748) accordingly adapt the tune to the verses here required (enā vo agniṁ namaso)' (Eggeling, *SBE.*, vol. xli, p. 127 note 1). Cf. also Haug in his translation of AB., vol. ii, p. 266 f., note 19.

2. rathaṁtaraṁ saṁdhim: AB. iv. 6. 10 ff.

3. āçvinam: 'This chant [= the Sandhistotra] is succeeded by the Hotṛ's recitation of the Āçvina-çastra,[1] a modification of the ordinary prātaranuvāka, or morning litany . . . On the present occasion the prātaranuvāka is, however, to consist of as many verses as, counting their syllables, would make up a thousand bṛhatī verses (of thirty-six syllables each). The three sections of the ordinary morning litany form the body of the Āçvina-çastra, which concludes, after sunrise, with verses addressed to Sūrya, the sun' (Eggeling, *SBE.*, vol. xli, p. xviii). Cf. also Eggeling, *SBE.*, vol. xliv, p. 92 f., note 2 and Haug's Translation of AB., vol. ii, p. 268, note 1.

3. uktham: 'synonyme plus ancien de çastra,' Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. xxvii; cf. also Eggeling, *SBE.*, vol. xli, p. xiv f.

3. mahati rātre: Cf. KB. xi. 8 (p. 52, 15), āçvinam mahad uktham mahārātra upākuryāt; AB. ii. 15. 12 defines the phrase by purā çakunivādāt.

3. samārambhāya: I have taken it in the sense of avyavachedāya in AB. i. 11. 7.

4. anabhyavacārāya: Cf. ÇB. i. 3. 4. 8, guptyāi vā abhitaḥ paridhayo bhavanty athāi 'tat sūryam eva purastād goptāraṁ karoti net purastān nāṣṭrā rakṣāṁsy abhyavacarān iti. The p. w. registers (*Nachträge*, I, p. 287, col. 3) anabhyavacāruka at MS. iii. 8. 7 (p. 104, 12) but does not give the noun anabhyavacāra.

4. anaparopāya: The Petersburg dictionaries do not record the noun anaparopa.

4. aparopyate: Cf. AV. v. 17. 7, jagad yac cā 'palupyate.

210. This chapter belongs with chapter 213 below. The two correspond to AB. iv. 7–8, cf. also KB. xviii. 1, TMB. ix. 1. 35.

4. √sthā + pari-ud in the sense of √sthā + pari.

4. anu nu mā 'bhajatam. This use of nu with the imperative in the sense of a hypotactical 'unless'-clause is similar to the cases discussed by Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.*, § 255, p. 515 ff.

4. atyārjata: The same variation between the √sṛj (ati nāu sṛjasva) and √ṛj (atyārjata) is found in AB. iii. 42. 1–4 (ati no 'rjasi and nā 'stuto 'tisṛkṣye).

6. udajayetām: As all mss. agree on the middle I have hesitated to change the reading to udajayatām.

211. 2. ratnāir nu: A nu or some equivalent seems to be demanded here, see Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.*, § 255, 1, p. 515.

3. gāyatrīṣu: Cf., e. g., ÇB. i. 8. 2. 13.

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[1] TMB. ix. 1. 34. āçvinaṁ hotā 'nuçaṁsati.

3. pañcadaçastoma: The three ways in which a stotra may be arranged according to the pañcadaça-style are given by Eggeling, *SBE.*, vol. xxvi, p. 308, note 2.—For its relation to Indra, cf. e. g. AB. iv. 31. 1; Nir. vii. 10; Eggeling, *SBE.*, xii, p. xviii.—For the connexion of Agni with the gāyatrī and of Indra with the pañcadaça-stoma see below, no. V., note to JB. i. 68–69 (p. 198).

3. jagatyā: Cf., e. g., VS. ix. 33d.

4. Nearly verbatim like TMB. ix. 1. 20–22.

4. √i + palā-abhi 'fugare,' p. w. Nachträge I, p. 298a 'einen Fliehenden verfolgen.'

4. asaṁheyam: TMB. ix. 1. 21 and 22 read asaṁhāyyam. The PW. vii, p. 502a interpreted this as absolutivum of √hā and translated it 'in der Lage sich nicht aufraffen zu können.'[1] But the p. w., *Nachträge*, vi, p. 297a corrects the reading to asaṁhārya[2] and takes the latter (*Nachträge* I, p. 296a) as an adverb in the sense of 'auf Nimmerwiedersehen.' Whatever the reading, agamayan seems to require it as its object. As the mss. of the JB. have uniformly e I have not emended the reading in that respect; asaṁheya of JB. would be to asaṁhāyya of TMB. as prahéya (AV. v. 17. 3c; the corresponding RV. passage has prahyè) is to prahāyyà (AV. xv. 3. 10, where the mss. are divided between -āryy-, -āry-, and -āy-, a very pertinent parallel to the uncertainly about the TMB. reading). About the meaning of asaṁheya I do not feel at all certain. As √hi + sam means 'prepare' 'zurüsten' it may be something like 'undoing' by which I have rendered it.

212. 1. trivṛtā: Perhaps, under the circumstances, tṛvṛtā should have been retained. It is difficult to say in such cases whether the reading is a mere blunder or represents a real phonetic difference; cf. sṛdhas, AV. ii. 6. 5 (all of Whitney's and over half of SPP's mss.; but nearly half of SPP's have sridhas) and MS. ii. 12. 5 (p. 149, 4.) but sridhas, VS. xxvii. 6, TS. iv. 1. 7. 3, and Kāṭh. xviii. 16 (p. 276, 17); sṛmaḥ, MS. iv. 2. 9 (p. 31, 3) but srímāḥ, AV. viii. 6. 10; krimṇaḥ and krimayaḥ ĀpÇS. ix. 20. 2, krimināḥ, krime and krimīn ĀpÇS. xv. 19. 5 for kṛmi-; ríçyapadīm, AV. i. 18. 4 ('the mss. bungle all the occurrences of this word' Whitney.) for ṛçya- (as the commentator and three of SPP's mss. read); āpapṛvā́n, MS. ii. 10. 5 (p. 137, 11, but the padapāṭha reads āpaprivā́n) but āpaprivā́n, RV. x. 139. 2 (and the other parallel texts). In a similar manner TS. vii. 4. 13. 1

[1] Cf. AB. vii. 15. 4, saṁjihānas tu dvāparaḥ.

[2] Following the Commentary, which glosses saṁhāyyam by saṁhartum ayogyam.

reads pṛṣvābhyaḥ (Whitney, *Grammar*, § 1190a) for prúṣvābhyaḥ. VS. xxii. 26 and KSĀ. iv. 2; MS. i. 5. 14 (and parallel texts), ávihrutān but ĀçÇS. ii. 5. 2. 12 avihṛtān; AV. vi. 120. 3, áhrutās but TA. (Calcutta ed.) ii. 6. 2. 10, áhṛtās (the Poona ed. reads áhrutās); VS. xvi. 44, hṛdayyāya for TS. iv. 5. 9. 1, hradayyāya; ÇB. vi. 6. 2. 11, kṛmuka probably for the classical kramuka.

2. Cf. TMB. ix. 1. 23, eṣā vā agnistomasya saṁmā yad rātriḥ. 24. dvādaça stotrāṇy agniṣṭomo dvādaça stotrāṇi rātriḥ. 25. eṣā vā ukthasya saṁmā yad rātriḥ. 26. triṇy ukthāni tridevatyaḥ saṁdhiḥ. 27. yathā vā ahna ukthāny evam eṣa rātreḥ saṁdhir.

2. rātriç: 'night-service' as ÇB. v. 5. 3. 3. This has twelve stotras.

2. ukthāmadāni: Besides MS. i. 9. 2 (p. 132, 1) and i. 9. 8 (p. 139, 7) the compound occurs also Kāṭh. ix. 10 (p. 112, 4). Cf. Eggeling, *SBE.*, xli, p. xviii, 'At the end of each round (paryāya) libations are offered, followed by the inevitable potations of Soma-liquor. That the performance [of the Atirātra], indeed, partook largely of the character of a regular nocturnal carousal may be gathered from the fact, specially mentioned in the Āitareya Brāhmaṇa, that each of the Hotṛ's offering-formulas is to contain the three words—"andhas," Soma-plant (or liquor), "pā," to drink, and "mada," intoxication. Accordingly, one of the formulas used is Rig-veda ii. 19. 1 apāyy asyā 'ndhaso madāya "there has been drunk (by Indra, or by us) of this juice for intoxication."'

2. samutkalpayanti: $\sqrt{}$kḷp + sam-ud is not found elsewhere; $\sqrt{}$kḷp + ud occurs once in AV. xii. 4. 41.

4. asya: On the instrumental genitive with past participles see Caland, *Über das rituelle Sūtra des Bāudhāyana* (*Abh. f. d. Kund. d. Morgenl.* xii, 1) p. 44 f.

4. ketūñç carati: like vasnàm . . . acarat RV. iv. 24. 9 'he paid.'

213. The legends dealing with the daughters of Prajāpati fall into two large groups, viz. (1) 'The incest of Prajāpati' and (2) 'Prajāpati gives his daughter or daughters in marriage.' Bloomfield has pointed out (*JAOS.*, xv, p. 181) that these two groups are sharply distinguished by differences in phraseology; 'the stories of Prajāpati's incest with his daughter exhibit an utter absence of all the technical words indicative of Vedic marriage rites; the stories of the marriage of Prajāpati's daughter [or daughters] almost always exhibit them.'

Of the second group ('Prajāpati gives his daughter or daughters in marriage') there are two subdivisions. The one is represented by TS. ii. 3. 5. 1, prajāpates trayastriñçad duhitara āsan. tāḥ somāya

rajñe 'dadāt[1] etc. and Kāṭh. xi. 3 (p. 147, 1), prajāpatir vāi somāya rājñe duhitṛr adadān nakṣatrāṇi etc., = MS. ii. 2. 7 (p. 21, 4).

The other is contained in our story here (JB. i. 213) with its parallels AB. iv. 7 and KB. xviii. 1. In all three stories a legend[2] dealing with the wedding of Prajāpati's daughter Uṣas[3] has been contaminated, altered, and adapted for exegetical purposes in the manner discussed in Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris, 1897, vol. i, 1899, p. 235 f. The really essential part of the story as related in JB., AB., and KB. is the race[4] of the gods; for this is necessary to account for the fact that, in spite of its name, a number of other gods beside the Açvins have a share in the āçvina-çastra. This story of the race is then secondarily connected, in the three texts mentioned, with the wedding of Prajāpati's daughter Uṣas, which gives it a vivid and concrete setting.[5] There is no necessary connection between the two as is shown, in the first place, by the fact that both JB. i. 210 and TMB. ix. 1. 35 have no allusion to any wedding in connection with this race. In the second place, Uṣas's participation in the race (JB. i. 213. 6) is entirely out of keeping with her rôle as bride (213. 2) and the bridegroom's liberal bestowal of the wedding-gift on his guests (213. 3).

1. rāthaṁtaras saṅdhir: Cf. ÇB. v. 5. 3. 4, 'The twilight-hymn (saṅdhi) is [performed] with the triple arrangement (trivṛt [stoma]) and with the rathaṁtara tune,' and Eggelings note, *SBE.* xli, p. 127.

2. sahasram: Cf. Eggeling, *SBE.*, xli, p. xviii, note 1; Haug's translation of AB. vol. II, p. 268 end; and KB. xviii. 3.

4–6 = 210. 1–3.

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[1] Cf. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Mythol.*, I, p. 506; Caland, *Altindische Zauberei*, 1908, p. 84–85 (in *Verhandelingen d. Konink. Akad. v. Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde*, NR., Deel X, No. 1).

[2] Criteria by which to judge its antiquity seem to be absent. I do not know on what evidence Pischel rests his assertion that AB. iv. 7 is 'keine alte Legende' (*Ved. Stud.* i, p. 28).

[3] Something in the general style of the legend that forms the basis of the brahmodya RV. x. 17, 1–2, very fully discussed by Bloomfield, *JAOS.*, xv, p. 172 ff.

[4] Running a race to decide a dispute, see Tawney's Translation of the Kathāsaritsāgara, vol. i, 1880, p. 14 with note.

[5] For races in connection with Germanic weddings, cf. Weinhold in *Zt. d. Ver. f. Volkskunde*, iii, p. 13–14 ('Brautlauf') and p. 14–16 ('Wettläufe der Hochzeitsgäste.') The fondness of the Vedic Hindus for racing is emphasized by Pischel, *Ved. Stud.*, i, p. 124.

10. nā 'rvāñ na paras: For arvāñ as adverb instead of -āk see note to JUB. i. 2. 4. The whole phrase (which, like our 'This is neither here nor there,' must mean 'to be of no consequence or value') occurs in RV. x. 71. 9. where imé yé nā́ 'rvā́ñ ná paráç cáranti together with other objectionable people are excluded (ví jahuḥ, vs. 8).

III. Why the mule is barren (JB. i. 67).

The Brāhmaṇas give two legends in explanation of the fact that the mule is barren.[1]

1. AB. iv. 9. 1 (in connection with the race of the gods at the occasion of the marriage of Prajāpati's daughter, Sūrya) says: açvatarīrathenā 'gnir ājim adhāvat. tāsām prājamāno yonim akūḷayat. tasmāt tā na vijāyante, 'Agni ran the race with a chariot [drawn by] she-mules. As he was urging [them] on he singed their womb. Therefore they are barren.'

2. The second legend is reported in TS. vii. 1. 1. 2–3, 'By means of the agniṣṭoma Prajāpati created the creatures. By means of the agniṣṭoma he enclosed them. Of them being enclosed the he-mule escaped. [Pursuing and] catching it he took its seed. He transferred[2] it to the ass; therefore the ass has two [kinds of] seed.

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[1] This fact is frequently alluded to by the ancients. Cf., for India, ŚB. v(vi). 7. 2 with A. Weber, *Zwei vedische Texte über Omina und Portenta* in *Abhandl. d. K. Akad. d. W. zu Berlin*, 1858, published 1859, p. 327–8; for classical antiquity the passages collected by H. O. Lenz, *Zoologie der alten Griechen und Römer*, 1856, p. 212; A. Schlieben, *Die Pferde des Alterthums*, 1867, p. 72; C. S. Köhler, *Das Tierleben im Sprichwort der Griechen und Römer*, 1881, p. 121; in one of the defixiones published by Audollent (*Defixionum tabellae*, 1904, p. 374, no. 271, lines 15–16) the name of the deity is paraphrased by *σέ τὸν ποιήσαντα τὴν ἡμίονον μὴ τεκεῖν*.

Whether the frequent comparison 'sa mṛtyum upagṛhṇāti garbham açvatarī yathā' (cf. the passages collected by Boehtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, 2d ed., 1870, nos 58, 2698, and 6656, and by Gildemeister, *Orient und Occident*, II, 1864, p. 172–174), which is used of one who does an act sure to result in his destruction, belongs here is a disputed point, because some of the native scholars with whom Gildemeister agrees (cf. also Stenzler, *Zt. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, IV, 1842, p. 399) take açvatarī in the sense of a 'female crab'; this is also Pratāpa Chandra Roy's rendering (Mbh. xii. 5276 = 140. 30).

[2] Literally, 'smeared it on.'

And they also say: "He transferred it to the mare"; therefore the mare has two [kinds of] seed. And they also say: "He transferred it to the plants"; therefore the plants, [though] unanointed shine.[1] And they also say: "He transferred it to the [other] creatures"; therefore twins are born. Therefore the he-mule is sterile, for he had his seed taken away. Therefore he is not suitable [as a fee] in the barhis (sacrificial grass-covering),[2] [but] in a sacrifice where [the sacrificer gives] all [his possessions as sacrificial fee] or in [a sacrifice where the sacrificer gives] a thousand [cows as sacrificial fee] he is suitable, for he escaped. He who knowing thus sacrifices with the agniṣṭoma causes unborn progeny to be born, encloses [that which is] born. Therefore they say: "[This is] the foremost sacrifice." 3. Prajāpati, verily, is the foremost, for he sacrificed in the beginning with this [sacrifice].' In TMB.[3] vi. 1. 1, 'Prajāpati desired: "May I be manifold, may I bring forth." He saw this agniṣṭoma, he seized it; with it he created these creatures. 2. Verily, both with that stotra of the Agniṣṭoma which is the eleventh[4] he created them and with the eleventh month of the year. Both with the twelfth stotra of the Agniṣṭoma he enclosed them[3] and with the twelfth month of the year. 3. Therefore do creatures give birth about the eleventh month, having carried the fœtus for ten months; therefore they do not hold it beyond the twelfth month, for by the

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[1] The P. W. translates this: 'deshalb knarrt das Holz (am Wagen), wenn es nicht geschmiert ist'; but oṣadhī for 'Holz am Wagen' would be very unusual and the proper term for 'knarrt' would be utsarjati (cf. ĢB. vi. 8. 1. 10–11 where an expiation for the creaking of the axle is given). It is therefore preferable to follow the commentator who paraphrases by 'sārādhikyena vardhante snigdhavad dṛçyante,' 'they grow with an abundance of gum, they look shiny,' as Geldner does, *Ved. Stud.*, III, p. 176, 'deshalb glänzen die Pflanzen, obwohl sie nicht gesalbt werden (wie die Menschen).' The same use of the √añj is probably found in RV. x. 45. 4, kṣāmā rérihad vīrúdhaḥ samañján, where Agni is identified with Parjanya (ĢB. vi. 7. 3. 2) and rain makes the plants shiny, vīrudhaḥ samanakti. Cp. further ĢB. vi. 6. 3. 3. tasmād sarvadā 'rdraḥ sarvadā kṣīrī of the udumbara tree which is always moist (fresh) and full of sap.

[2] That is 'in the case of an ordinary sacrifice.'

[3] A German translation in Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd. I, Abt. 1, p. 183.

[4] A list of the twelve stotras and çastras of the Agniṣṭoma is given by Eggeling, *SBE.*, xxvi, p. 325–6, note 2.—Possibly 'sa tāḥ' should be read here for sata, see JB. text (below).

[3] Deussen translates: 'nahm er in Pflege.'

twelfth month they were enclosed. He who knows this thus encloses the progeny [which is] born, [that which is as yet] unborn[1] he causes to be born. 4. Of them being enclosed the she-mule escaped. [Pursuing and] catching her he took her seed away. He transferred it to the mare.[2] Therefore[3] the mare has two [kinds of] seed; therefore the she-mule is barren, for she had her seed taken away. 5. And therefore she should not be given as sacrificial fee. As she exceeded the sacrifice she should be the sacrificial fee of [that which is] in excess, for the sake of correspondence. [But] in the case of the stotra of the ṣoḍaçin (sixteen-fold)-sacrifice[4] she may be given. For the ṣoḍaçin [-stotra] is redundant, in the case of the redundant only does he give the redundant [she-mule].'

And, finally, in JB. i. 67, text and translation of which follow.

1. Text.

JB. i. 67. 1, prajāpatir[5] yat prajā asṛjata tā agniṣṭomenā[6] 'sṛjata. daçamena ca sa[7] tā[8] agniṣṭomasya stotreṇā 'sṛjata daçamena ca[9] māsā[10] saṁvatsarasya. tā dvādaçena cāi[11] 'vā 'gniṣṭomasya stotreṇa paryagṛhṇād[12] dvādaçena ca māsā[10] saṁvatsarasya.[13] 2. tasmāt paçavo daça māso garbhān[14] bibhraty[15] ekādaçam anuprajāyante.[16]

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[1] Changing the reading to agree with TS. and JB. (see below) to 'prā 'jātā janayati.' Thus the desired contrast between the two halves of the sentence is brought out.

[2] Read: 'vaḍavāyāṁ nyamārḍ.'

[3] Read: 'tasmād'; cf. Commentator to ŞB. v(vi). 7. 2, p. 176 of Eelsingh's ed., açvataryāḥ prajāpatinā aretaskatvād garbhābhāvaḥ, tasmād açvataro na jāyate, aretā hī 'ti çrutiprasiddhiḥ.

[4] 'The ṣoḍaçin-sacrifice requires . . . one additional chant, the ṣoḍaçi-stotra, with its attendant çastra and Soma-cup. The most natural explanation of the name is supplied, in the first place, by AB. iv. 1,—viz. the sacrifice which has sixteen, or a sixteenth, stotra. But as the name applies not only to the sacrifice but also to the stotra and çastra, the Brāhmaṇa further justifies the name by the peculiar composition of the ṣoḍaçi-çastra in which the number sixteen prevails,' Eggeling, *SBE.*, xli. p. xvii. As to the redundancy, cf. AB. iv. 1. 6, 'dve vā akṣare atiricyete ṣoḍaçino 'nuṣṭubham abhisaṁpannasya.'

[5] A. -ti [6] C. -nāi 'vā [7] B.C. vāi [8] B.C. stā
[9] A. va [10] A. -ās [11] All mss. vāi [12] All mss. -ṇā
[13] A. -vatras- [14] A. rbhān
[15] A. bibhṛtī, B. bibhyatita, C. bibhṛtitam [16] A. -yate

na kadā[1] cana dvādaçam atiharati.[2] parigṛhītā hi tena. 3. tāsāṁ parigṛhītānām açvataro 'tyaplavata[3] tasyā 'nuhāya reta ādatta. 4. tad gardabhe nyamārṭ[4] tad[5] vaḷavāyāṁ tat paçuṣu[6] tad[7] oṣadhīṣu. tasmād gardabho dviretās[8] tasmād vaḷavā[9] dviretās[10] tasmāt paçavo dvāu dvāu janayanti tasmād oṣadhayo 'nabhyaktā rebhanti.[11] 5. tasmād açvataro barhiṣi na deyo[12] 'ti[13] hy[13] aplavatā[14] 'pa hy[15] akrāmad āttaretā hy aprajā hi. ṣoḍaçinas[16] stotre deyo 'tirikto vāi ṣoḍaçī[17] stotrāṇām atirikto 'çvatara paçūnām. atirikta eva tad atiriktaṁ dadhati yajñasya[18] salomatāyāi. 6. sa[19] ya evaṁ vidvān agniṣṭomeno[20] 'dgāyati[21] prā[22] 'jātāḥ prajā janayati pari[23] prajātā[24] gṛhṇāti. 7. jyeṣṭhayajño vā eṣa prajāpatiyajño yad agniṣṭomo 'çnute[25] jyāiṣṭhyaṁ[26] çrāiṣṭhyaṁ[27] ya evaṁ veda.

2. Translation.

1. When Prajāpati created the creatures he created them with the agniṣṭoma. Both with the tenth stotra of the agniṣṭoma he created them and with the tenth month of the year. Both with the twelfth stotra of the agnistoma and with the twelfth month of the year he enclosed them. 2. Therefore animals carry their fœtuses ten months, about the eleventh month they give birth [to it]; never does one hold it beyond the twelfth month, for by that they were enclosed. 3. Of them being enclosed the he-mule escaped. [Pursuing and] catching him he took his seed away. 4. He transferred it to the he-ass, to the mare, to the [other] animals, to the plants. Therefore the he-ass has two [kinds of] seed, therefore the mare has two [kinds of] seed, therefore the animals severally give birth to twins, therefore the plants, [though] unanointed, shine. 5. Therefore a he-mule is not to be given [as a sacrificial fee] in the barhis,[28] for he escaped, for he ran away, for he had its seed taken away, for he is without offspring. [But] in the case of the stotra of the ṣoḍaçin

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[1] B.C. kā [2] A. atirahati.
[3] A. 'tiplavati, B. atyaplavata, C. atyapravata (as TS. reads).
[4] All mss. -tta [5] A. sa, B. cat [6] A. pa iṣu [7] A. sad
[8] A. -tā, B.C. -os [9] A. viḷ- [10] A. dhiretās
[11] A. robhavanti, B.C. rebhavanti, corrected after TS. i. 7. 1. 2. MS. i. 8. 2 (p. 117, 8), Kāṭh. vi. 2 (p. 51, 5) [12] C. dehebhyaḥ
[13] C. om. [14] C. pravatā [15] A. çy [16] A. ṣoḍegnina
[17] All mss. -ī [18] A. yasya [19] A. om. [20] A. -ṣṭomāuno
[21] A. jagā- [22] B.C. pra [23] A. om. [24] A. prajā
[25] A. çatrūte, B.C. çrute [26] A. jāi- [27] B.C. -ṣṭham.
[28] That is 'in the case of an ordinary sacrifice.'

[-sacrifice] he may be given [as a sacrificial fee]. For among the stotras the ṣoḍaçin[-stotra] is excessive, and among the animals the he-mule exceeded. They thus give that which exceeded in case of the excessive only, for the sake of the correspondence of the sacrifice. 6. He who knowing thus chants by means of the agniṣṭoma causes unborn progeny to be born, encloses [that which is] born. 7. The agniṣṭoma is the foremost sacrifice, Prajāpati's sacrifice. He attains the foremost, the best, who knows thus.

3. Notes.

The legends here reported correspond, in general tone, to a number of Christian legends. M. L. Dames and E. Seemann (Folk-Lore, Transactions of the Folk-Lore Society, London, xiv, 1903, p. 106) report from the Azores: 'The mule was also cursed, because at the time of the nativity it pulled away from the manger the straw which covered the Holy Child and from that time forth it has been barren.' Achille Millieu records (Revue des Traditions Populaires, v, 1890, p. 244; cf. also Sébillot, Folk-Lore de France, iii, p. 8) two tales of Nivernais peasants[1]: 'Au moment où tous les animaux sortaient de l'arche, le mulet en débarquant lança une ruade au lièvre et lui coupa la queue. Noë lui dit: "Tu as cherché à détruire le lièvre, tu en seras puni; tu ne perpétueras pas ta race." Voilà pourquoi le lièvre n'a pas de queue et le mulet ne produit pas.' And, 'Quand Dieu créa les animaux, la mule, sans aucune raison, donna un coup de pied à la femelle du lièvre. C'est pour la punir que Dieu lui interdit de propager sa race.' E. Rolland quotes (*Faune Populaire de la France*, 1881, iv, p. 273) from Pierotti's *Notions sur quelques animaux de la Palestine* (1869)[2] an Arabic tradition: 'Le mulet avait été choisi par Joseph pour porter la sainte famille en Égypte; mais tandis que le bon vieux lui mettait le bât, la sotte et impertinente bête lâcha contre lui une de ses ruades habituelles, et Joseph en ayant été contusionné maudit l'animal. Depuis lors, il est resté impuissant, et c'est à la malédiction du respectable vieillard que le mulet doit de n'avoir ni ancêtres, ni lignées, et ainsi d'être exclu de la famille. Voilà pourquoi il est toujours en colère contre tout le monde et que, rejeté de tous, il n'aime personne.'

4. vaḷavā dviretās: Cf. ÇB. xii. 7. 2. 21, vaḍabā 'nuçiçur dakṣiṇā bhavati. ubhayaṁ vā eṣā janayaty açvaṁ cā 'çvataraṁ ca, 'a mare

[1] Dähnhardt in *Ztschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, xvi, 1906, p. 392, and *Natursagen*, i, 1907, p. 292. [2] This book is not accessible to me.

with a foal is the sacrificial fee, for such a [mare] produces both, the horse and the mule.'

4. gardabho dviretās: Cf. ÇB. vi. 3. 1. 23, ta etam ekaṁ paçuṁ dvābhyāṁ paçubhyāṁ pratyapaçyan rāsabhaṁ goç cā 'veç ca. tad yad etam ekaṁ paçuṁ dvābhyāṁ paçubhyāṁ pratyapaçyaṁs tasmād eṣa ekaḥ san dviretāḥ, 'they (the gods) beheld one animal [which would do] for two animals, [viz.] the he-ass for the cow and the sheep; because they beheld this one animal [which would do] for two animals, therefore he (the he-ass) [though] being one has two kinds of seed.'

4. oṣadhayo 'nabhyaktā rebhanti: The transfer to the plants occurs, admidst different surroundings, in MS. i. 8. 2 (p. 117, 8) and Kāṭh. vi. 2 (p. 51, 5) and was perhaps interpolated here and in TS.

IV. The Contest of Indra with Tvaṣṭṛ's son (JB. ii. 153–157).

For a general synopsis of the different versions of this myth see Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, iii, p. 229–241. The closest parallels to the Jāiminīya version are found in MS. ii. 4. 1 (p. 38, 1), Kāṭh. xii. 10 (p. 172, 5), ÇB. i. 6. 3 and v. 5. 4 (beginning with 2), TS. ii. 5. 1 and 2. Other parallels are noted in their respective places.

1. Text.

JB. ii. 153. 1. triçīrṣṇā[1] ha vāi tvāṣṭra āsa. tasya ha trīṇi mukhāny[2] āsus[3] somapānam ekaṁ surāpānam[4] ekam annādānam ekam. 2. prastāuti ha smāi 'kenāi[5] 'kena[6] gāyati pratiharaty ekenā 'çrāvayaty[7] ekena pratyāçrāvayaty ekena çaṁsaty ekena. sa ha smāi 'kāky[8] evā 'nuparisarpaṁ yajñaṁ saṁsthāpayati. sa he 'yad vīryāvān[9] āsa sa u hā 'surīputra āsa.[10] 3. sa ha sma pratyakṣaṁ devebhyo vadati parokṣam asurebhyo yasmā u ha vāi bhūyaḥ kāmayate tasmāi parokṣaṁ vadati. tasmād u he 'ndro bibhayāṁ cakāra yac cā 'surīputra āsa yad u ce 'yad[11] vīryāvān[12] āsa.[13] 4. sa[14] he[15] 'kṣāṁ cakre 'suryo vā ayam asurīputras[16] sa pratyakṣam[17] asmabhyaṁ[18] vadati[19] parokṣam asurebhyo hantāi 'naṁ hanānī 'ti.

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[1] A. çīrṣ- [2] D. makh- [3] A.D. -su

[4] Both mss. with n. as in TS.; cf. Wackernagel. *Altind. Gramm.*, i. p. 189, § 169, c. second paragraph. [5] D. -ne [6] D. dakena

[7] A. çrav- [8] A.D. kāty

[9] A. vīryyaṁvān; vīryāvān with ā as in TS., TB., Kāṭh.; cf. Whitney, *Grammar*. § 1233, d. [10] A. āha [11] D. rvīd

[12] AD. vīryyāpān [13] A. āṁsa [14] A. om. [15] D. hāi

[16] A. -rıp- [17] D. -kṣa [18] D. sma- [19] D. vahatī

154. 1. tasya ha vajreṇa çīrṣāṇi pracicheda. tāny eva vayāṁsy abhavan. 2. tad yat somapānam āsīt sa kapiñjalo 'bhavat. tasmāt sa babhrur[1] iva babhrur[2] iva[3] hi somaḥ. 3. atha yat surāpānam[4] āsīt sa[3] kalaviṅko[5] 'bhavat. tasmāt[3] sa matta ivā 'vakrandati. 4. atha yad annādanam[6] āsīt sa tittirir abhavat. tasmāt sa bahurūpa iva bahurūpam iva hy annaṁ[7] tasmād[8] u tasya vṛçcikaççaṁkuliṣṭha[9] ity etad annam. 5. sa tvaṣṭā hataputro 'pendraṁ somam ājahre. as indra īkṣāṁ cakre 'smāc[10] ced[11] vāi mā yajñād antarety antarito vāi tathā yajñād bhavāni hantāi 'naṁ hanānī 'ti.

155. 1. taṁ ha vajrahasto 'bhidudrāva. 2. sa tvaṣṭā pratyaṅ patitvā patnīḥ prapede. taṁ ha tatra nā 'nuprapede. tasmāt tvaṣṭāraṁ patnīṣu[12] saṁyajanti tasmād u patnīḥ prapannaṁ na hanyād.[13] 3. udeyāye 'ndraḥ. sa ha[14] havirdhānayor eva droṇakalaçe somaṁ rājānaṁ sampavitum upeyāya. taṁ ha droṇakalaçenāi 'va pratidhāya pītvā pravavrāja.[15] 3. anūdeyāya tvaṣṭā. sa ha papracchā 'sti kiṁ cit pariçiṣṭā3m ity asty ayaṁ saṁsrāva iti ho 'cuḥ. 4. taṁ hā[16] 'gnāu pravartayāṁ[17] cakāre[18] 'ndraçatrur[19] vardhasva svāhe 'ti. 5. taṁ yat prāvartayat sa eva vṛtro 'bhavat. sa vartamāna evā[20] 'gnīṣomāv[21] abhisaṁbabhūva. tasmād āhur[22] agnīṣomāv asuryāv[23] iti. 6. sahasreṣumātram ūrdhvam[24] udārdat[25] tato ha smā[26] nā 'vacchvāṁ[27] ksitis.[28] 7. trayīṁ[29] vidyāṁ[30] sarvāṁ çriyaṁ sarvam annādyam api yad idaṁ trirātre sahasraṁ procyate tad abhisaṁbabhūva.[31] 8. tasya he 'daṁ sarvaṁ balikṛd[32] āsa. kīlālaṁ ha smā 'smāi nadyo

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[1] A. -bhūr. D. bhur [2] A. om.. D. -bhrūr [3] A. om.

[4] Both mss. with n, as in TS.; cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i, p. 189, § 169, c, second paragraph. [5] A. kapilaviṅko, D. kalapiṅko.

[6] A. -ādān- [7] A.D. annas.

[8] A. leaves a space between tasmā and d

[9] I have not been able to emend the text. vṛçci may stand for pṛçni, cf. TB. ii. 2. 6. 1 (vol. ii, p. 199, 9–10) pṛçnivatībhir bhavanty annam vāi pṛçni, and TS. ii. 1. 6. 2, annāda eva bhavati pṛçnir bhavaty etad vā annasya rūpam. [10] A. -ā [11] A. cāid [12] A. patnīṣiṣu

[13] A. hastābhidravanyād [14] A. om. [15] A. pravaprāja

[16] AD. ha [17] A. -yaṁ [18] A. -kar-

[19] A. dreççakru, D. draççakrur [20] D. -va [21] A. -gnīṣ-

[22] A. āhutīr [23] A. āsūryyāv [24] A.D. ūrddham

[25] A. idaditi, D. udatiti; the emendation is a mere make-shift, see note.

[26] D. smá

[27] A. vachchvām; I have not succeeded in emending this form; it may contain a prākritization like AV. iii. 12. 4 ucchantu for ukṣantu, cf. the notes to AV. x. 9. 23 and xix. 8. 4 in Whitney's translation.

[28] D. kṣatis; I have not been able to emend this. [29] D. -yī-

[30] D. vidyabhyāṁ [31] A. isaṁbh- [32] A. -krad

vahanti. 9. atha hā 'bhiyugvāno[1] nāmā 'ṣṭāu devānāṁ sahacarā āsur aṣṭāu pitṛṇām aṣṭāu manuṣyānām aṣṭāv asurāṇām. teṣāṁ sme 'ndro[2] māyayā 'ṣṭamo bhavati vṛtraṁ jighāṁsaṁs tasmād u hāi[3] 'nam indra eva[4] jaghāna yad indraçatrur[5] vardhasva[6] svāhe 'ti pravartayāṁ cakārā 'tha[7] yad dha prāvartayiṣyad indrasya çatrur vardhasva svāhe 'ti 156. 1 çaçvad dhāi 'naṁ nā 'haniṣyat.

2. tam ayam indraṁ somo rājā vīto[8] 'pahūto[9] 'hinot.[10] 3. tasya ha sarvebhya eva chidrebhyaḥ preyāya[11] mukhād eva na tasmād u ha bhiṣajya āsa. 4. tasya[12] yad[13] avāṁ[14] iyāya[15] sāi 'va surā vāriṭakā[16] babhūva yac chiçnāt sa parisrut.[17] 5. trir[18] niraṣṭhīvat.[19] tad yat prathamaṁ nirasthīvat[20] tad eva karkandhv abhavad yad dvitīyaṁ tad badaraṁ yat tṛtīyaṁ tat kvalam.[21] tasmād eteṣām annaṁ cāi 'va rasāḥ. 6. khāṭkṛtya caturthaṁ[22] niraṣṭhīvat.[20] tad evā 'mram[23] abhavat. 7. tam evaṁ devā abhito niṣedur ayaṁ na eko viro 'bhūt sa itthaṁ[24] nyagāt kva bhavāma iti. sa ho 'vāca na vāi vidma[25] yo[26] 'bhūvam[27] iti. kim iti. 8. cukṣūṣāmi vā[28] ity atha ha sma tataḥ purā kṣutvāi 'va mriyante. taṁ ho 'cuḥ kṣuhi jīve 'ti tvā vakṣyāma iti. 9. sa ha cukṣāva. taṁ ha jīve 'ti[29] ho[30] 'cuḥ. sa jijīva. tasmād idam apy

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[1] A. hiyuçvāno, D. bhiyuhvāno. [2] A. -rā [3] A. he
[4] A. va [5] A. -trūr [6] A.D. vadhasva [7] A. rtha
[8] A. vito [9] A. repeats 'nupahūto [10] A. nihot
[11] A. proy- [12] A.D. tasye [13] A.D. d
[14] A.D. avā
[15] A.D. yoya; the emendations of these four words are tentative only. An emendation which would yield a good contrast to çiçnāt would be more acceptable; moreover, yad avāg iyāya is mentioned below, 157. 2.
[16] A. vāridakā
[17] D. -sruk. cf. Whitney, *Grammar*, § 151, a; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i, p. 135. § 117. a; p. 303, § 260, a, *β*; p. 328. § 277, a; AV. vi. 40. 3, adharāt = VS. (Kāṇva version) iii. 2. 6 and KS. xxxvii. 10, adharāk.
[18] A. trarṁ. D. triṁ [19] A. niṣṭīvat
[20] A. -ṣṭ- as both MS. ii. 4. 1 (p. 38, 12) and Kaṭh. xii. 10 (p. 172, 16) read; cf. ūrvaṣṭīve, MS. ii. 11. 6 (p. 143. 13) for ūrvaṣṭhīve, VS. xviii. 23; adhyasta, MS. ii. 5. 2 (p. 48. 13) for adhyastha, TS. ii. 1. 2. 2. Cf. Whitney's note to AV. vi. 102. 2: Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* i, p. 130. § 109.
[21] So both mss; Whitney, *Grammar*, § 233; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i, p. 59, § 53; cf. sabuva TB. ii. 6. 4. 2 for sabva VS. x. 84; abhuva, MS. iv. 1. 12 (p. 16. 19) for abhva, RV.; kuvaya MS. iii. 14. 20 (p. 177, 2) for kvayi TS. v. 5. 17. 1 and VS. xxiv. 39.
[22] A. -thayaṁ. possibly for caturthaṁ yan
[23] A. mṛm [24] A. -tha [25] A.D. vitma [26] A.D. ya
[27] A. bhuv- [28] A. inserts çu [29] A.D. ty
[30] A.D. o

etarhi cukṣvāṅsam āhur[1] jīve 'ti. tasmād u[2] yam eva manyeta taṁ brūyaj jīve 'ti.

10. tasya yan nasta iyāya[3] 157. 1. tāv eva[4] siṁhyāv abhavatām[5] yad akṣibhyāṁ tāu çārdūlāu yat karṇābhyāṁ tāu vṛkāu vāilūṣāu[6] yad upapakṣābhyāṁ tāv apāṣṭihāu[7] tasmād ete vayasāṁ vīryavattarā[8] indro hy eteṣām ājānam. atha yad avāg iyāya tad idaṁ kṣudraṁ çvāpadaṁ babhūva. 2. sa ha viṣiktaç[9] çiçye 'pi ha tṛṇāir abhivilūḍha āsa. taṁ ho 'cuḥ kve 'vā 'si kve 'va tvā bhiṣajyāma iti. tasmād idam apy etarhy[10] upatāpinaṁ pṛcchanti kve 'va te rujati[11] kve 'va te bhiṣajyāma[12] iti. 3. sa ha tṛṇāny abhiparidiçann[13] uvāce 'dam ivāi 'va mā 'bhito[14] 'stī[15] 'dam ivāi 'va mā 'bhito bhiṣajyate 'ti. 4. tad agnim abruvann idaṁ dahe 'ti tad agnir adahat. tat parjanyam abruvann idam abhivarṣe 'ti tat parjanyo 'bhyavarṣat. 5. tat kalyāṇya oṣadhayo 'jāyanta. tā dhenubhir[16] adhārayans tat payo 'duhan. 6. ta etaṁ[17] yajñam apaçyaṁs tam āharaṁs tenāi 'nam ayājayan. 7. tasya pratidhuk prātassavane 'vānayat[18] pratī 'va vā anenā 'dhāyī 'ti tasmāt pratidhuk. çṛtam[19] mādhyandine savane çreṣṭhe[20] 'va vā[21] anene 'ti tasmāc chṛtam.[22] dadhi tṛtīyasavane[23] 'dhāyī 'va vā anene 'ti tasmād dadhi. 8. sa yathā ca ha pura[24] āsā 'titarāṁ ha tata āsa. sa yas somavāmī vā somātipavito[25] vā syāt sa etena yajeta yathā ca ha purā[24] bhavaty atitarām ha tato bhavati. tasmād u ha somavāminaṁ vā somātipavitaṁ[26] vā na paricakṣīte 'ndro hy api tathā 'sa.

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[1] A. āçur

[2] A.D. uda; in this udayam of the mss. may be hidden some accusative of an adjective depending on manyeta and describing the condition of the man who is to be addressed by 'jīva.'

[3] A. iyaṁya

[4] A. āiva [5] A. -tāry, D. -tāy [6] Both A. and D. read so.

[7] A.D. apādiṣṭihāu; emended after ÇB. xii. 7. 1. 6, sa çyeno 'pāṣṭihā 'bhavat; the a-stem in ÇB. xii. 7. 2. 15, apāṣṭihasya.

[8] A.D. -varttarā [9] A. -ṣak- [10] D. etahi [11] A. rūjati

[12] A. bhiṣadhyāmay [13] A. diçñn [14] A. bhisto

[15] A D. smī, a change to the third person seemed imperative.

[16] A.D. dhenūbhir [17] A.D. eiṁ

[18] A. vāyat: the reading should possibly be corrected to 'vānayan.

[19] A. chritam, D. cchritaṁ

[20] So both mss. for çreṣṭha iva, see Whitney, *Grammar*, § 176. b; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. p. 317. § 268. a. b. [21] A. vāva

[22] A.D. chritam [23] D. trit-

[24] Both mss. have first pura and then purā, though it would be easy to change the latter to puro since ā and o are frequently confused.

[25] A.D. -vapito

[26] A. somātiparitam

2. Translation.

153. 1. Three-headed, verily, was Tvāṣṭṛ's son, yea, he had three mouths, one to drink soma, one to drink surā (brandy), one to eat food. He used to sing the prelude[1] with one, to chant the main part of the saman[2] with one, to chant the pratihāra[3] with one, to summon (as adhvaryu)[4] with one, to respond (as āgnīdhra)[5] with one, to recite the çastra[6] (as hotṛ) with one. He, quite alone, used to complete a sacrifice by walking successively around; so powerful was he, and he was, indeed, the son of an Asurī. 3. Now openly he used to promise [their share] to the gods, [but] secretly to the Asuras; and for whom one has the higher regard to him, indeed, one secretly promises [his share]. And therefore Indra was frightened, because he was the son of an Asurī and because he was so powerful. 4. He considered: 'This one belongs to the Asuras, an Asurī's son [is he]. Openly he promises [our share] to us, [but] secretly to the Asuras. Come now, I will slay him.'

154. 1. With the thunderbolt he cut off his heads. They became birds. 2. That with which he drank soma became a hazel-cock; therefore it is brownish, for the soma is brownish. 3. That with which he drank surā (brandy) became a sparrow; therefore it noisily cries down as if drunk. 4. That with which he ate food became a partridge; therefore it is variegated, for food is variegated. And therefore[7] . . . . that is food. 5. Tvaṣṭṛ, having his son slain, brought soma from which Indra was excluded. Indra considered: 'If he excludes me [now] from this sacrifice, excluded from the sacrifice I shall then truly be [hereafter]. Come, I will slay him.'

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[1] 'prastāva, l'introduction du sāman, chantée par l'officiant dit prastotṛ,' Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, i, p. xxxvii.

[2] 'udgītha, the principal part of the sāman, preceded by om, to be chanted by the udgātṛ.' Hang, translation of the AB. vol. ii, p. 120, note 13.

[3] Eggeling, *SBE.* xxvi, p. 310 note 1 suggests 'check' or 'stop' for this term on the basis of ĢB. iv. 3. 4. 22.

[4] 'The adhvaryu . . . calls on (āçrāvayati) the āgnīdhra with õ çrāvaya or õm çrāvaya,' Eggeling, *SBE.* xii, p. 132 note. The rendering 'summon' is Whitney's (Atharva-veda Translation, AV. ix. 6. 49).

[5] 'The āgnīdhra responds (pratyāçrāvayati) by astu çrauṣat,' Eggeling, *SBE.* xii, p. 132, note.

[6] 'Every chant or hymn (stotra) of the udgātṛs is followed by a song of praise (çastra) recited by the hotṛ or one of his three assistants.' Eggeling, *SBE.*, xxvi, p. 325, note 2.

[7] The next words are unintelligible.

155. 1. With the thunderbolt in his hand he (Indra) ran up against him (Tvaṣṭṛ). 2. Tvaṣṭṛ, fleeing onward, took refuge with the Wives [of the gods].[1] He (Indra) did not follow him (Tvaṣṭṛ) thither. Therefore, in the case of the patnī [-saṁyājas][2] they offer [an oblation of ājya] to Tvaṣṭṛ also; and therefore one should not slay one who has taken refuge with the Wives [of the gods]. 3. Up went Indra. To clarify king Soma in the two soma-carts, in the wooden soma-tub,[3] he went up. Lifting it (the soma) with the wooden soma-tub up [to his lips] he drank it [and then] went off. 3. Up came Tvaṣṭṛ after him. He asked: 'Is there anything left?' They said: 'There is this remnant.' 4. He turned it into the fire [saying]: 'Grow thou, having Indra as thy conqueror, svāha.' 5. As he turned it [into the fire] it became Vṛtra. Just as it was being turned [into the fire] it became possessed of Agni and Soma. Therefore they say: 'Agni and Soma are Asura-like. 6. A thousand arrows' range he surged up[4] . . . 7. Of the threefold knowledge, of all glory, of all food, even of the thousand [cows] which are turned over [as sacrificial fee] at the trirātra [-sacrifice] he became possessed. 8. To him this whole [universe] became tributary. Ambrosial drink the rivers used to bring to him. 9. Now there were eight satellites of the gods, Adversaries by name, eight of the Fathers, eight of men, eight of the Asuras. Of these [latter] Indra, by his magic, became the eighth, because he wished to slay Vṛtra. And for this reason did Indra

[1] On these shadowy divinities see Hillebrandt, *Ved. Mythol.*, iii. p. 409–410.

[2] 'The patnīsaṁyājas are four oblations of butter to Soma, Tvaṣṭṛ, the wives of the gods, and Agni Gṛhapati respectively.' Eggeling, *SBE.*, xii. p. 75, note 2. 'The meaning of the term seems to be "offerings made (to some deities) along with the wives (of the gods)."' *Ibid.*, p. 256, note 1. Cf. also Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, i, p. xxxiv.

[3] 'The pressing is performed in three rounds . . . . On the completion of the third round the droṇakalaça is brought forward . . . by the Udgātṛs . . . and placed on the four stones covered with the pressed Soma husks, the straining cloth being then stretched over it. The Hotṛ's cup . . . having then been filled up by the Unnetṛ with the Soma-juice in the ādhavanīya trough, the sacrificer pours it in one continuous stream from the Hotṛ's cup upon the straining cloth, spread over the droṇakalaça by the chanters . . . From this stream the first eight (at the midday pressing the first five) libations are taken, by the respective cups being held under, the remaining libations or cups being drawn either from the strained (or 'pure,' çukra) Soma-juice in the droṇakalaça, or from the āgrayaṇasthālī or the pūtabhṛt,' Eggeling, *SBE.* xxvi, p. 257, note.

[4] The words which follow are not intelligible.

slay him, [to wit,] because he had turned [the remnant of the soma into the fire with the words]: 'Grow thou, having Indra as thy conqueror, svāha.' Now if he had turned [it into the fire with the words]: 'Grow thou, being Indra's conqueror, svāha,' 156. 1. then, indeed, Indra would very likely not have slain him.

2. This king Soma, going in all directions, because no invitation had been pronounced over it, hurt Indra. 3. It came out of all his openings, only out of his mouth [it did] not [come]; and therefore there was a cure. 4. What of him went below that became surā[2] vāriṭakā,[1] what [went] from his penis that became parisrut.[2] 5. Thrice he spat out. What he spat out the first time that became the Karkandhu [-jujube][3]; what [he spat out] the second time that [became] the Badara [-jujube][3]; what [he spat out] the third time that [became] the Kuvala [-jujube].[3] Therefore, also, their juices are food. 6. [Making the sound] 'khaṭ,' he spat out a fourth time; that became the fruit of the Mango-tree. 7. Around him, being in such condition, the gods sat [saying]: 'This one hath been our one hero; he hath fallen into this [plight]; what will become of us?' He said: 'We do not know who I have become.' 'How,' [they said]. 8. 'I wish to sneeze,' [Indra said]. Now before this time [people] used to die when they had sneezed. They said to him: 'Sneeze, [and] we will say "Live" to thee.' 9. He sneezed; they said to him: 'Live.' Therefore even nowadays they say to one who has sneezed: 'Live.' And therefore if he should think anyone [to be] . . .,[4] to him he should say: 'Live.'

10. What went from his nose 157. 1. that became two lionesses; what [went from] his two eyes that [became] two tigers; what [went from] his two ears that [became] two . . .[5] wolves; what [went from] his two armpits that [became] two talon-slayers (eagles), therefore they are stronger than the [rest of the] birds, for Indra is their origin: and what went below that became these small wild-beasts.

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[1] I do not know what this word means.

[2] 'According to Sāyaṇa, the difference between surā and parisrut would seem to be that the former beverage is prepared from mature shoots (of rice, etc.) and the latter from such as are not quite ripe,' Eggeling, *SBE.*, xli. p. 9, note 1.

[3] 'The names of three varieties of the jujube, or fruits of Zizyphus Jujuba, for a description of which see the comm. on Kāty. ŚS. xix. 17 seqq.,' Eggeling, *SBE.*, xliv, p. 214, note 3.

[4] There seems to be a lacuna here.

[5] I do not know what this word means.

2. Poured out in all directions he lay, all overgrown[1] with grass. They said to him: 'How dost thou feel? Where can we cure thee?' Therefore even now they ask a sick [person]: 'Where is thy pain? Where can we cure thee?' 3. He, pointing round about at the grass, said: 'This here is all about me, cure this here all about me.' 4. Then they said to Agni: 'Burn this.' Agni burnt it. Then they said to Parjanya: 'Rain upon this.' Parjanya rained upon it. 5. Then beneficial plants grew up. Of these they took possession by means of the milch-cows; they thus milked the milk. 6. They saw this sacrifice; they seized it; with it they sacrificed for him. 7. The fresh milk he[2] poured out at the morning service [with the words]: 'By it, indeed, the beginning[3] hath been made'; therefore it is [called] fresh milk.[4] The boiled milk [he[2] poured out] at the mid-day service [with the words]: 'By it, indeed, he is the best one'[5]; therefore it is [called] boiled milk.[6] The sour curds [he[2] poured out] at the evening service [with the words]: 'By it, indeed, it hath been set'[7]: therefore they are [called] sour curds.[8] 8. And as he was before, even stronger, he thence was. If any one should either vomit soma or be purged by soma such an one should sacrifice with this [sacrifice]. As he was before, even stronger, he thence becomes. And therefore one should not censure one who vomits soma or is purged by soma, for Indra himself was that.

3. Notes.

153. 2. anuparisarpam: The Petersburg dictionaries do not record the compound √sṛp + anu-pari. Cf. anuparikrāmaṁ juhoti, TS. v. 5. 10. 6.

3. avadati: TS. ii. 5. 1. 1 has the complete phrase bhāgam avadat, and agrees here very closely with the JB.—The duplicity of Tvāṣṭṛ's son is also mentioned in the Bṛhaddevatā vi. 149–150, where he is sent by the Asuras to act as purohita of the gods and thus harm them.

3. yasmā u ha: I cannot instance this dative with bahu kāmay; cf. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 59, § 81, d.

3. asurīputra: Bṛh. Dev. vi. 149, asurāṇāṁ svasuḥ putraḥ; TS. ii. 5. 1. 1, svasrīyo 'surāṇām.

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[1] I have taken -lūḍha as equal to -rūḍha, although the Petersburg dictionaries do not register √ruh + abhi-vi-

[2] or (reading avānayan) 'they.' [3] √dhā + prati. [4] pratiduh.

[5] çreṣṭha [6] çṛta [7] adhāyi [8] dadhi

154. 1. vayāṅsy abhavan: Macdonell, in his note to Bṛhaddevatā, vi. 151, compares a similar transformation of the skins of Apālā [1] (Bṛh. Dev. vi. 106) and of the members of Agni (Bṛh. Dev. vii. 78–80). According to Kāṭh. xi. 10 (p. 157, 5) and TS. ii. 4. 9. 2 the heads of the Yatis[2] whom the sālāvṛkas killed became the Phoenix sylvestris (kharjūra) or, according to Sāyaṇa's commentary (vol. ii, p. 514, 18), the Borassus flabelliformis (tāla), because 'their fruits resemble a skull' (teṣāṁ phalāni çiraḷikapālasadṛçāni lakṣyante).

2. babhrur: See Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, i, p. 23–45 ff., on babhru as colour of the pressed soma; however, surā too is babhru, VS. xx. 28.

2. matta ivā 'vakrandati: Cf. Kāṭh. xii. 12 (p. 174, 17–18) tasmāj jyāyāṅç ca kanīyāṅç ca snuṣā ca çvaçuraç ca surāṁ pītvā saha lālapata āsate = MS. ii. 4. 2 (p. 39, 18–19) tasmāj jyāyāṅç ca kanīyaṅç ca snuṣā ca çvaçuraç ca surāṁ pītvā vilālapata āsate. These two passages, by the way, make it all but certain that mattás in AV. vi. 20, 1, uté 'va mattó vilápann ápāyati, is to be understood as participle of √mad ('he flees, shouting like a drunken man') rather than as ablative of the personal pronoun ('shall he, crying out, go away from me').—See also the Excursus at the end of these notes.

4. bahurūpam ... annam: Cf. TS. ii. 1. 6. 4, bahurūpo bhavati bahurūpaṁ hy annam.

5. apendram: So also ÇB. i. 6. 3. 6 and v. 5. 4. 7; in ÇB. xii. 7. 1. 1 and 8. 3. 1 abhicaraṇīyam ('suitable for witchery.' Eggeling, 'der Bezauberung ausgesetzt,' Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.*, p. 401, § 224, end) is added to apendram; Kāṭh. xii. 10 (p. 172, 12) has vīndram for apendram.

5. asmāc ced ... bhavāni: Similarly ÇB. i. 6. 3. 6 and v. 5. 4. 7 say: sa yathā 'yaṁ somaḥ prasuta evam apendra evā 'sa, 'even as this soma was [withheld from Indra] when it was [then] pressed, even so it remained withheld from Indra [thereafter].'

155. 2. patnīḥ prapede: Cf. TS. vi. 5. 8. 4, 'The gods desired to slay Tvaṣṭṛ; he took refuge with the Wives [of the gods], they did not surrender him; and, therefore, they do not surrender one who is to be slain after he has taken refuge;[3] therefore he offers [a soma libation] to Tvaṣṭṛ patnīvant also.'—On the connexion of Tvaṣṭṛ with women see Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, I, p. 525–530.

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[1] Cf. *JAOS.*, xviii, p. 26–31, v. Schroeder, *WZKM.*, xxii. 1908. p. 224 f.

[2] Cf. *JAOS.*, xix, p. 123–125: Caland, *Altindische Zauberei (Verhandel. d. kon. Akad. v. Wetensch. te Amsterdam.* Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. Deel x. no. 1) 1908, p. 133.

[3] 'tasmād api ... pratiprayacchanti' also at TS. vi. 5. 6. 3

2. tvaṣṭāraṁ patnīṣu saṁyajanti: On the four patnīsaṁyājas (ÇB. i. 9. 2. 5–13) see Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, 1879, p. 151 ff., especially p. 154 for Tvaṣṭṛ's patnīsaṁyāja.—In a similar way, Tvaṣṭṛ and the Wives of the gods are connected in the animal sacrifice to Agni and Soma, ÇB. iii. 7. 2. 8, 'Thereupon they set up the Wives' stake (patnīyūpa) . . . There they seize (and bind) the victim for Tvaṣṭṛ,' and the scholiast to Kāty. ÇS. viii. 8. 41 on this passage adds that the victim is for Tvaṣṭṛ patnīvant.

3. saṁpavitum: This is apparently the only occurrence of an infinitive of the root pu, and Witney, in the manuscript of the Roots and Verb-forms, queries whether it may not possibly be an early instance of a causative infinitive with loss of causative sign (Whitney, *Grammar*, § 1051, c).

4. This is very closely parallel to ÇB. i. 6. 3. 8; TS. ii. 4. 12. 1; 5. 2. 1.—In the text of the JB. the real point of Tvaṣṭṛ's error is obscured by the lack of accent on indraçatru.[1] What Tvaṣṭṛ 'intended to say was that it should grow strong so as to be "the foe (slayer) of Indra," and the compound should therefore have been accented on the second member, viz. indraçátru (the foe of Indra); but by accenting it on the first member, índraçatru, he made it "having Indra for his foe (slayer)," ' Eggeling, *SBE.*, xii, p. 165, note 2.

5. vṛtro 'bhavat: The same punning connexion of Vṛtra with the √vṛt (prāvartayat) occurs also in ÇB. i. 6. 3. 9; TS. ii. 5. 2. 1, while TS. ii. 4. 12. 2 puns with √vṛ.

5. abhisaṁbabhūva: I have adopted Eggelings rendering of this compound which is also used in ÇB. i. 6. 3. 8; TS. ii. 4. 12. 2; 5. 2. 2: and MS. ii. 4. 3 (p. 40, 8). Caland, *Altindische Zauberei* (Verhandel. d. Kon. Akad. van Wetensch. te Amsterdam. Afd. Letterk. N.R. Deel X, no. 1) 1908, p. 127 renders it by: 'bemächtigte er sich auch des Agni und des Soma.'

5. agnīṣomāu: On the part of Agni and Soma in the Vṛtra-battle see Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, III, p. 234–236.

6. Parallel to ÇB. i. 6. 3. 11, tasmād u ha sme 'ṣumātram eva tiryañ vardhata iṣumātraṁ prāñ; TS. ii. 4. 12. 2 = 5. 2. 2, sa iṣumātram-iṣumātraṁ viṣvaññ avardhata; MS. ii. 4. 3 (p. 40, 10) sa vā iṣumātram evā 'hnā tiryaññ avardhate 'ṣumātram anvañ; Kāṭh. xii. 3 (p. 165, 12) vṛtro 'har-ahar iṣumātram ūrdhvo 'vardhate 'ṣumātraṁ tiryañ.—But I have not succeeded in emending the corrupt text.

6. udārdat: This makeshift emendation is based on ÇB. v. 3. 4. 5 and 6, sa yaḥ [scil. ūrmiḥ] prāñ (and pratyaññ) udardati.

[1] See below, JB. ii. 155. 9

7. trirātre sahasram: On the sahasradakṣiṇa trirātra see Eggeling, *SBE.*, xxvi, p. 414, note 1; Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 148, 26 with note 1.

8. kilālam . . . vahanti: Cf. the story of king Nāhuṣa, the rivers, and Sarasvatī, Sāyaṇa on RV. vii. 95. 2, Bṛhad Dev. vi. 20–24.

9. abhiyujvānaḥ: I cannot find a parallel and am not at all sure that 'adversaries' renders the word correctly.

māyayā: Cf. Hillebrandt, *WZKM.* xiii, 1889, p. 317 ff.; *Ved. Myth.*, iii, p. 172 f.; cf. *JAOS.*, xxvi, 1905, p. 195.

aṣṭamo bhavati: Just as he passed himself off as a Brāhmaṇa in order to thwart the Asuras' attempt at constructing a fire-altar, ÇB. ii. 1. 2. 14, TB. i. 1. 2. 5; cf. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, iii, p. 173.

156. 1. çaçvad: On the meaning of this adverb see Eggeling, *SBE.*, xli, p. 98, note 2 and xliv, p. 250, note 1. In the parallel passage ÇB. i. 6. 3. 10 çaçvat is used in both protasis and apodosis.

2. anupahūtaḥ: In the parallel texts, ÇB. i. 6. 3. 7; v. 5. 4. 8; Kaṭh. xi. 3 (p. 143, 11), it is Indra who is anupahūta 'uninvited' or, MS. ii. 2. 13 (p. 26, 2) anupahūyamāna 'not being invited.' In our passage here, on the other hand, it is the soma which is anupahūta and should therefore not be drunk, just as in ÇB. i. 8. 1. 16 the iḍā should not be eaten when it is anupahūtā, but may be eaten when it is upahutā, ÇB. i. 8. 1. 24 (for parallels see Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance) and Kāty. ÇS. iii. 4. 22–23. In these latter cases the Petersburg dictionaries translate anupahūta by 'wozu nicht eingeladen worden ist' and upahūta 'wozu geladen worden ist,' and my translation follows them[1] rather than Eggeling who renders anupahūta by 'before it is invoked' and upahūta by 'called hither.'

3. bhiṣajya: The Petersburg dictionaries do not give a masculine noun bhiṣajya 'cure.' The femine bhiṣajyā and the neuter compound durbhiṣajya are recorded from KB. and ÇB. (BAU.) respectively. If bhiṣajya is taken as masculine noun it corresponds exactly to prāyaçcitti in the parallel passage ÇB. v. 5. 4. 8, so 'sya viṣvañ̄ eva prāṇebhyo dudrāva mukhād dhāi 'vā 'sya na dudrāva tasmāt prāyaçcittir āsa sa yad dhā 'pi mukhād adroṣyan na hāi 'va prāyaçcittir abhaviṣyat.

4. çiçnād: Cf. ÇB. xii. 7. 1. 9, çiçnād evā 'sya raso 'sravat sā parisrud abhavat; ÇB. v. 5. 4. 10 has uttarāt prāṇād for çiçnāt.

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[1] In the same way ÇB. xi. 1. 6. 35 anapoddhāryā āhutayaḥ are not 'offerings which must not be omitted' but 'offerings from which nothing must be omitted.'

5. trir niraṣṭhīvat: Cf. ÇB. v. 5. 4. 10.—tad yat prathamam . . . kvalam: Almost verbatim so MS. ii. 4. 1 (p. 38, 12) and Kāṭh. xii. 10 (p. 172, 17). ÇB. xii. 7. 1. 2–4 produces the kuvala, badara, and karkandhu from the moisture of the eyes (tears), nostrils, and mouth, respectively. In ÇB. v. 5. 4. 10 the order is kuvala, karkandhu, badara.

6. khāṭkṛtya: This, possibly, is the passage which the scholiast on Pāṇini i. 4. 62 had in mind and quotes: 'khātkṛtya (with dental t) niraṣṭhīvat,' just as he quotes from memory and with a slight change the introductory words of the Dīrghajihvī-legend (AB. ii. 22. 10; MS. iii. 10. 6, p. 138, 5; Kāṭh. xxix. 1) to Pāṇini, iv. 1. 59 (*Actes du onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris 1897, vol. i. 1899, p. 232).

7–9 tam evaṁ . . . jīve 'ti: Whitney reported this passage in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society for May, 1885 (*JAOS.*, xiii, p. xx) in connexion with H. C. Warren's paper 'On superstitious customs connected with sneezing' which quoted the Jātaka story[1] no. 155 'Gagga-Jātaka' (Fausböll, ii, p. 15). In this story the goblin who haunts the hut has received from the demon Vessavana permission to kill and eat any man who entered the hut and sneezed unless someone should wish him 'Long life' and he should reply 'The same to you.' Warren also referred to the similar tale in the Kathāsaritsāgara[2] (vi. 28. 128 ff., p. 19 of Brockhaus' edition, Leipzig, 1862) 'The fourth [voice] said: "If he escape this also, when he enters that night into his private apartments he shall sneeze a hundred times; and if some one there does not a hundred times say to him 'God bless you' he shall fall into the grasp of death."'[3] That the devil gains power of a person who sneezes unless God is invoked to avert the danger seems to be a widespread belief. Cf., e. g., Helene Raff's Bavarian tale (*Zt. d. Vereins für Volkskunde*, viii, 1898, p. 395): 'So wurde eine junge Bauernmagd an der bayrisch-tyrolischen Grenze nur durch das zugerufene "Helf Gott" eines Mitknechtes aus den Klauen des Teufels errettet, welche dieser, während sie nieste, nach ihr ausgestreckt hatte'; the Icelandic superstition (Lehmann-Filhés, *Zt. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, viii, 1898, p. 154 and p. 448) that the Black Death was stayed by the invocation of

[1] See W. H. D. Rouse's Translation, vol. ii, p. 11–13; Rouse notes that the introductory story is repeated in the Cullavagga, v. 33.

[2] See C. H. Tawney's Translation, vol. i, p. 254, and the additional notes, vol. i, p. 576 and vol. ii, p. 631.

[3] Cf. also W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, i. p. 240–241.

the Deity after sneezing; Ellen Mc Keever's Irish tale (B. J. Jones, *Folk Lore*, London, xiv, 1904, p. 338–339) of the farmer who sold his daughter to the Devil who 'told him the next morning she was to sneeze three times and no one was to say, "God bless her." So she riz the next morning just the same as before and she sneezed three times, and when she sneezed the third time the step-mother forgot and said "God bless you."' And thus the Devil was foiled. —Semitic tradition connects the exclamation 'God bless you' with the creation of Adam. When the divine breath filled Adam he sneezed. Then either the Lord himself or the angels bade him say: 'Praised be God'; cf. M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 1893, p. 62–63.

156. 10–157. 1: Parallels MS. ii. 4. 1 (p. 38, 11–12), Kāṭh. xii. 10 (p. 127, 15) ÇB. xii. 7. 1. 2–9. Of these Kāṭh. bears the closest resemblance (two male lions from the nose, two tigers from the eyes, two wolves from the ears), but it converts the downward discharge into the sāutramaṇī.[1] The MS. does not indicate the sources except by 'itas'; its list consists of three items only, viz., two male lions, two tigers (vyāghrāu for çārdūlāu of Kāṭh. and JB.), and two wolves. The ÇB. gives an elaborate list of twenty-four items. It derives the ram from the nostrils, the he-goat from the eyes, the one-hoofed animals, like horse, mule, and ass, from the ear. The 'talon-slaying eagle' from the heart in the breast, the lion from the blood, the wolf from the urine, and the tiger (vyāghra) from the contents of the stomach and intestines.

157. 1 vayasāṁ vīryavattarāḥ: For the genitive of comparison with a comparative see Speijer, *Sansk. Syntax*, p. 80, § 107, Rem. 2. viṣiktaç çiçye: In general on the plight of the drunken Indra see Bloomfield, *JAOS.*, xv, p. 148–153.

5. tā dhenubhir . . . aduhan: Cf. TS. ii. 5. 3. 2, 'When Indra had slain Vṛtra his power [and] strength departed to the earth; they became plants [and] shrubs. He hastened to Prajāpati [saying]: "When I had slain Vṛtra my power [and] strength hath departed to the earth; they have become plants [and] shrubs." Prajāpati said to the cattle: "Collect that for him." The cattle collected it in themselves from the plants.[2] They milked it out [from them]. Because they collected[3] it, that is the reason for the term sāṁ-

[1] Cf. Eggeling, *SBE.*, xli, p. xxvi and p. 129, note 1.

[2] 'By browsing the plants and shrubs,' Eggeling, SBE., xii, p. 177, note 3.

[3] √nī + sam

nāyya'.[1] ÇB. i. 6. 4. 6, 'They prepared it (the soma) collecting it successively by means of the cows; as [these] ate plants [they collected it] from the plants, as they drank water [they collected it] from the water.'

7. With these punning etymologies cf. TS. ii. 5. 3. 3, 'tat pratyaduhan . . . yat pratyaduhan tat pratidhuṣaḥ pratidhuktvam. samanāiṣuḥ pratyadhukṣan na tu mayi çrayata ity abravīd etad asmāi 4. çṛtaṁ kurute 'ty abravīt tad asmāi çṛtam akurvann indriyaṁ vāvā 'smin vīryaṁ tad açrayan tac chṛtasya çṛtatvam. samanāiṣuḥ pratyadhukṣaṁ chṛtam akran na tu mā dhinotī 'ty abravīd etad asmāi dadhi kurute 'ty abravīt tad asmāi dadhy akurvan tad enam adhinot tad dadhno dadhitvam.' ÇB. i. 6. 4. 6, tam evaṁ saṁbhṛtyā 'tacya tivrīkṛtya tasmāi prāyacchan. 7. so 'bravīd dhinoty eva me 'daṁ ne 'va tu mayi çrayate yathe 'dam mayi çrayātāi tatho 'pajānīte 'ti. taṁ çṛtenāi 'vā 'çrayan. 8. tad vā etat samānam eva sat paya eva sad indriyasyāi 'va sat tat punar nāne 'vā 'cakṣate yad abravīd dhinoti me 'ti tasmād dadhy atha yad enaṁ çṛtenāi 'vā 'çrayaṁs tasmāc chṛtam. Cf. also TS. vi. 5. 9. 1–2.

7. The distribution over the three savanas differs in TB. i. 4. 7. 6, çṛtena prātaḥsavane çrīṇīyād dadhnā madhyandine 7. nītamiçreṇa[2] tṛtīyasavane.

8. atitarām: ÇB. i. 6. 4. 21 refers to the practice of 'some' of offering the sāṁnāyya to Mahendra rather than to Indra, on the ground that he was Indra before he slew Vṛtra, but after he had slain Vṛtra he became Mahendra, just as a king (rājan) becomes a great king (mahārājan) after he has gained a victory. But the ÇB. dissents from this: 'Indra he was before the slaying of Vṛtra, and Indra he is after slaying Vṛtra, therefore let him offer it simply to Indra.'

8. atitarām: ÇB. v. 5. 4. 13 sa hāi 'tayā (viz. the sāutrāmaṇī) somātipūtaṁ bhiṣayet . . . sa vasīyān eve 'ṣṭvā bhavati. Cf. the somavāmina iṣṭi, Kāṭh. xi, 1 (p. 143, 11–19), MS. ii. 2. 13 (p. 26, 1–8), TS. ii. 3. 2. 6–7; Caland, *Altindische Zauberei* (in *Verhandel. d. Koninkl. Akademie van Wetensch. te Amsterdam, Afdeel. Letterkunde, N.R. Deel x, no. 1*) 1908, p. 102–103.

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[1] See Hillebrandt. *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*. 1879. p. 4–5.

[2] = navanīta-

Excursus: *The probable Hindu origin of the legend concerning the three qualities of wine* (*Gesta Romanorum, no. 159*).

The comparison of a drunken man's talk with the twittering of a sparrow (JB. ii. 154. 3, above p. 181) suggests a passage in a modern Greek legend in which St. Dionysius takes the place of Dionysus (cf. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* ii, p. 1654 20 ff. with note 3, on this identification). This modern Greek tale was told in 1846 by an old Bœotian peasant of the village of Kokino at the foot of the Ptoon mountains to Professor Christian Siegel and is repeated, in a German translation, from J. G. v. Hahn's *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*, Leipzig, 1864, ii, p. 76 by C. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*, Bonn, 1864, p. 24 f. A Naxian parallel to it (cf. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* i, p. 245, 1–2 and 366, 4 ff., for the connexion between Naxian and Bœotian Dionysus legends) is given by N. G. Polites, *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ*, *Παραδόσεις* i, no. 175, and thence summarized by Miss Mary Hamilton in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* xiii, Session 1906–7, p. 351 as follows: 'The modern Naxian story is told about a journey of the saint [= St. Dionysius] from Mount Olympus to Naxos. He noticed an herb by the way and *first planted it in the bone of a bird*, then in the bone of a lion, and lastly in the bone of an ass. At Naxos he made the first wine with its fruit. The intoxication which followed the drinking of this wine had three stages; *first he sang like a bird*, then felt strong as a lion, and lastly became foolish as an ass."

This Naxian tale belongs to a well defined cycle of medieval legends for which no. 159 of the Gesta Romanorum may serve as type. The parallels have been collected by Oesterley, p. 738 of his edition of the *Gesta Romanorum*, Berlin, 1872, to which must be added those given by R. Köhler, *Anzeiger f. d. deutsche Alterthum*, ix, 1883, p. 402–7, reprinted, with many additions by Bolte, in Reinhold Köhler's *Kleinere Schriften* i, 1898, p. 576–8). Ever since T. Tyrwhitt in his note to line 24 of Chaucer's Manciple's Prologue (*The Canterbury Tales*, ii, London, 1775, p. 302) connected Chaucer's 'win of ape' with the Rabbinical story quoted in the note to vol. i, p. 275 of Fabricius' *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (Hamburgi, 1722) and T. Warton (*The History of English Poetry*, London, vol. iii, 1781, p. lxvi = vol. i, 1840, p. clxxxv) referred chapter 159 of the *Gesta Romanorum* to the same source, these legends have been assumed to be founded on Rabbinical tradition

(cf. e. g. J. G. T. Grässe, *Gesta Romanorum*, Leipzig, 1905, ii, p. 275 and Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, 1894, v, p. 437, who further refers to Leopold Dukes' *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, Leipzig, 1844, p. 192 = *Notes and Queries*, Series i, vol. xii, London, 1855, p. 123).

But this Rabbinical tradition in turn appears to be derived from Hindu sources. For in the Book of Laughable (or Refreshing) Stories which Yuḥannâ Abu 'l-Faraj ('Bar-Hebræus') compiled in the late years of his life (he died in 1286) the tale appears as the sixth anecdote of the third chapter which is devoted to the '*Profitable Sayings of the Indian Sages*' (First published by L. Morales in *Zeitsch. d. deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xl, 1886, p. 412 [translation] and p. 425 [text]; then by E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Laughable Stories collected by Bar-Hebraeus*, London, 1897 = Luzac's *Semitic Texts and Translation Series*, vol. i, and, in translation, E. A. Wallis Budge, *Oriental Wit and Wisdom or the 'Laughable Stories collected by Mâr Gregory John Bar-Hebraeus*, London, 1899) As to Bar-Hebraeus' source, Budge suggests[1] that 'some of the sayings of the Greek, Persian, Indian, and Arabian sages he probably took from some work like that of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Miskavaih (died A. H. 421 = A. D. 1030) who collected a number of precepts of the ancient Sages of Persia, India, Arabia, and Greece, which were translated into Persian by Taḳī Shushtarī,[2] and it seems that he supplemented these from notes made during the course of his own studies.' With the means at my disposal here I cannot determine whether the story here discussed formed part of those recorded in the Arabic collection or its Persian translation. Nor can I give from Sanskrit or Buddhistic literature a parallel to our legend. So that its probable Indian origin rests, for the present, upon the authority of Bar-Hebraeus.

[1] In his Translation, 1899, p. xxiii.

[2] 'Taḳī ud-Dīn Muḥammad B. Shaikh Muḥammad ul-Arrajānī ut-Tustarī, a scholar and poet of Persian birth, repaired to the court of Akbar, by whose command he turned the Shāhnāmah into prose.' C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. ii, 1881, p. 440–441. MS. Orient. 457 there described contains, inter alia, on fol. 59 a, 'Maxims of Indian Sages.'

V. Prajāpati creates the four castes (JB. i. 68–69).

The general subject is discussed[1] in the many notes to the puruṣa-hymn RV. x. 90, AV. xix. 6 etc. Here only two parallel versions are worthy of special comparison, viz., TS. vii. 1. 1. 4–6 and TMB. vi. 1. 6-13.[2] As JB. i. 68–69 follow immediately upon the chapter explaining the barrenness of the mule, JB. i. 67, (see no. iii, above p. 175) so the TS. and TMB. versions of the creation of the castes are immediately preceded by that story (TS. vii. 1. 1. 1–3; TMB. vi. 1. 1–5).

1. **Text.**

JB. i. 68. 1. prajāpatir vāve[3] 'dam agra āsīj janmano[4] ha vāi prajāpatir devatā. 2. so 'kāmayata bahus syāṁ prajāyeya bhūmānaṁ gaccheyam iti. 3. sa çīrṣata eva mukhatas trivṛtaṁ[5] stomam asṛjata gāyatrīṁ[6] chando rathaṁtaraṁ sāmā 'gniṁ devatāṁ[7] brāhmaṇam manuṣyaṁ ajaṁ paçuṁ tasmād brāhmaṇo gāyatrīchandā āgneyo devatayā tasmād u mukhaṁ prajānām mukhād dhy enam asṛjata. 4. so 'kāmayata prāi 'va jāyeye 'ti. sa bāhubhyām evo 'rasaḥ pañcadaçaṁ stomam asṛjata triṣṭubhaṁ chando bṛhat sāme[8] 'ndraṁ devatāṁ[7] rājanyam manuṣyam açvaṁ paçuṁ[9] tasmād rājanyas triṣṭup-chandā āindro devatayā[10] tasmād u bāhubhyāṁ vīryaṁ karoti bāhubhyāṁ hy enam uraso vīryād asṛjata. 5. so 'kāmayata prāi 'va jāyeye 'ti.

69. 1. sa udarād eva madhyatas saptadaçaṁ stomam asṛjata jagatīṁ[11] chando vāmadevyaṁ sāma viçvān devān devatāṁ[12] vāiçyam[13] manuṣyaṁ gāṁ paçuṁ tasmād vāiçyo[14] jagatīchandā vāiçvadevo devatayā[15] tasmād u prajaniṣṇur[16] udarād dhy enaṁ prajananād[17] asṛjata. 2. so 'kāmayata prāi[18] 'va[19] jāyeye 'ti sa padbhyām[20] eva

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[1] For a very good synopsis see J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, i (2d ed.), 1868, p. 7–160.

[2] An English translation of TS. in Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, i (2d ed.), 1868, p. 16; a German translation of TMB. in Deussen's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd. I. Abt. 1. 1894, p. 184.

[3] A.B. vāvave, C. ve [4] A. jano B.C. mano

[5] A. tṛvṛtam, see critical note to JB. i. 212 1 (above, p. 172)

[6] A. -ī [7] A. -ā [8] A. brahmatvām [9] A. -us

[10] B.C. -tāyā [11] All mss. -ī [12] A. devānām

[13] A. vāiçvam [14] A. vāiçvo, C. inserts devo [15] A. -tāyā

[16] A. -ṇar [17] B.C. -nānād [18] B.C. vāi [19] B.C. pra

[20] A. vatsām

pratiṣṭhāyā ekaviṅçaṁ[1] stomam asṛjatā 'nuṣṭubhaṁ chando yajñā-yajñīyaṁ[2] sāma na[3] kāṁ cana[4] devatāṁ[5] çūdraṁ manuṣyam aviṁ paçuṁ tasmāc chūdro 'nuṣṭupchandā veçmapatidevas tasmād u pād-āvanejyenāi[6] 'va[7] jijīviṣati padbhyāṁ hy enaṁ pratiṣṭhāyā asṛjata.[8] 3. etayā vāi sṛṣṭyā prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata sa ya etad evaṁ veda[9] bhūmānam eva prajayā paçubhir gacchati tasmād v etaṁ[10] yajñaṁ bhūyiṣṭhaṁ praçaṁsati yad agniṣṭomaṁ prajāpatiyajño[11] hy eṣaḥ.

2. Translation.

68. 1. Verily, Prajāpati, in the beginning, was this [universe], for Prajapati is the divinity of birth. 2. He desired: 'May I be manifold, may I be propagated, may I attain manifoldness.' 3. From [his] head, [his] mouth, he created the threefold one as stoma,[12] the gāyatrī as metre, the rathaṁtara[13] as sāman, Agni as divinity, the Brāhmaṇa as human being, the he-goat as animal; therefore the Brāhmaṇa has the gāyatrī as [his] metre, [and] belongs to Agni as far as [his] divinity [is concerned]; and therefore he is the mouth of created beings, for he (Prajāpati) created him from [his] mouth. 4. He desired: 'May I be propagated.' From his two arms, from [his] chest, he created the fifteen-fold[14] one as stoma, the triṣṭubh as metre, the bṛhat[15] as sāman, Indra as divinity, the warrior as human being, the horse as animal; therefore the warrior has the triṣṭubh as [his] metre, [and] belongs to Indra as far as [his] divinity [is concerned]; and therefore he performs deeds of valour with [his] two arms, for he (Prajāpati) created him from [his] two arms, from [his] chest, from valour. 5. He desired: 'May I be propagated.'

69. 1. From [his] belly, from the middle [part of his body], he created the seventeenfold-one[16] as stoma, the jagatī as metre, the

[1] B.C. -a [2] A. yajñāyajñāyajñiyā [3] A. nu
[4] B. cāna, A. canu [5] A. -ā [6] B. pādāvagnejyenāi
[7] A. ya [8] All mss. tsṛj- [9] A. vedeva
[10] A. edāi, B. āita, C. āitam [11] A. -e

[12] On the term stoma in general see the note to JB. i. 211. 1, translation, above p. 168. If executed in the trivṛt stoma arrangement the verses of RV. ix. 11 are put in the following order: 1. 4. 7, 2. 5, 8, 3. 6, 9.

[13] SV. ii. 30–31.

[14] Eggeling, *SBE.*, xxvi, p. 308 note 2 gives the three varieties (viṣṭuti) of arrangement for the pañcadaça-stoma. [15] SV. ii. 159–160.

[16] Eggeling, *SBE.*, xli, p. 8, note 1 and p. 11, note 1 discusses the manner in which hymns are adapted to the requirements of the saptadaça-stoma.

vāmadevya[1] as sāman, the All Gods as divinity, the Vāiçya as human being, the cow as animal; therefore the Vāiçya has the jagatī as [his] metre, [and] belongs to the All Gods as far as [his] divinity [is concerned]; and therefore he is procreative, for he (Prajāpati) created him from [his] generative organ. 2. He desired: 'May I be propagated.' From [his] two feet, from [his] footing, he created the twenty-one-fold one[2] as stoma, the anuṣṭubh as metre, the yajña-yajñīya[3] as sāman, no divinity whatever, the Çūdra as human being, the sheep as animal; therefore the Çūdra has the anuṣṭubh as [his] metre, [and] the master of [his] dwelling as [his] god; and therefore he desires to live by washing [other people's] feet only, for he (Prajāpati) created him from [his] two feet, from [his] footing. 3. By means of this creation Prajāpati created creatures. He who knows this thus attains manifoldness through offspring [and] cattle. And therefore they praise this sacrifice as the mightiest, to wit, the agniṣṭoma, for it is Prajāpati's sacrifice.

3. Notes.

The principal correspondences and divergencies of TS., TMB., and JB., may bee seen from the following table (p. 199). (On the whole, in the sequence of items the JB. corresponds more closely to the TMB., while in the items themselves it is more similar to TS.)

Similar combinations are not infrequent elsewhere.[4] Thus, AV. viii. 9. 20 (a brahmodya) asks: kathaṁ gāyatrī trivṛtaṁ vyāpa katham triṣṭup pañcadaçena kalpate trayastriṁçena jagatī katham anuṣtup katham ekaviṁçaḥ, 'How did the gāyatrī permeate the threefold [stoma]? How does the triṣṭubh fit in with the fifteenfold [stoma]? How the jagatī with the thirty-three-fold [stoma]? How is the anuṣṭubh connected with the twenty-one-fold [stoma]'? In a group of parallel passages, consisting of TS. i. 8. 13. 1–2 (quoted at TB. i. 7. 7. 1–2), VS. x. 10–13 (quoted at ÇB. v. 4. 1. 3–6), MS. ii. 6. 10 (p. 69, 13) and Kāṭh. xv. 7 (p. 214, 6), the kindling stick (samidh) [TS., MS., Kaṭh.] or the East [VS.] is linked with the gāyatrī, the trivṛt-stoma, the rathaṁtara-sāman, Agni [TS., MS., Kāṭh., but not in VS.], the priestly caste (brahman), and the spring [in VS. only]: the strong one (ugrā) [TS. MS. Kāṭh.] or the South [VS.] with

[1] SV. ii. 32–34.

[2] Eggeling. *SBE.*, xxvi. p. 491, note 3 gives the arrangement of a triplet so as to yield 21 verses (a a a-b b b-c; a-b b b-c c c; a a a-b-c c c).

[3] SV. ii. 53–54.

[4] See above, no. ii, JB. i. 211. 3, p. 172.

Text	Source	stoma	devatā	chandas	sāman	manuṣya	paçu	ṛtu
TS.	mukhataḥ	trivṛt	agni	gāyatrī	rathaṁtara	brāhmaṇa	aja	—
TMB.	mukhataḥ	trivṛt	agni	gāyatrī	—	brāhmaṇa	—	vasanta
JB.	çīrṣataḥ, mukhataḥ	trivṛt	agni	gāyatrī	rathaṁtara	brāhmaṇa	aja	
TS.	urasaḥ, bāhubhyām	pañcadaça	indra	triṣṭubh	bṛhat	rājanya	avi	—
TMB.	urastaḥ, bāhubhyām	pañcadaça	indra	triṣṭubh	—	rājanya	—	grīṣma
JB.	bāhubhyām, urasaḥ	pañcadaça	indra	triṣṭubh	bṛhat	rājanya	açva	—
TS.	madhyataḥ	saptadaça	viçve devāḥ	jagatī	vāirūpa	vāiçya	gāvaḥ	—
TMB.	madhyataḥ, prajanānāt	saptadaça	viçve devāḥ	jagatī	—	vāiçya	—	varṣāḥ
JB.	udarāt, madhyataḥ, (prajanānāt).	saptadaça	viçve devāḥ	jagatī	vāmadevya	vāiçya	gāuḥ	—
TS.	pattaḥ	ekaviṁça	—	anuṣṭubh	vāirāja	çūdra	açva	—
TMB.	pattaḥ	ekaviṁça	na kā cana	anuṣṭubh	—	çūdra	—	—
JB.	padbhyām, pratiṣṭhāyās	ekaviṁça	na kā cana	anuṣṭubh	yajñāyajnīya	çūdra	avi	—

the triṣṭubh, the pañcadaça-stoma, the bṛhat-sāman, Indra [TS., MS., Kāṭh., but not in VS.], the warrior-caste (kṣatra), and the summer [in VS. only]; the East [MS., Kāṭh.] or the West [VS.] or the virāj [TS.] with the jagatī, the saptadaça-stoma, the vāirūpa-sāman, the viçve devāḥ [MS.] or the Maruts [TS. Kāṭh.; VS. omits this], the peasant-caste (viç), and the rainy reason [VS. only.]; finally, the North with the anuṣṭubh, the ekaviṅça-stoma, the vāirāja-sāman, Mitra and Varuṇa [TS., MS, Kāṭh., but not in VS.], prosperity (puṣṭa) [TS., MS., Kāth.] or fruit (phala) [VS.], and the autumn [in VS. only]. AB. viii. 12. 4 (in the address of Indra to the chair at the occasion of the mahābhiṣeka-ceremony) couples the gāyatrī with the trivṛt-stoma and the rathaṁtarasāman; the triṣṭubh with the pañcadaça-stoma and the bṛhat-sāman; the jagatī with the saptadaça-stoma and the vāirūpa-sāman; finally, the anuṣṭubh with the ekaviṅçastoma and the vāirāja-sāman. The trivṛt-stoma is connected with Agni and the rathaṁtara-sāman at ÇB. viii. 6. 1. 5, with Agni and the priestly caste at ÇB. viii. 4. 2. 3; the pañcadaça-stoma with Indra and the bṛhat-sāman at ÇB. viii. 6. 1. 6, with Indra and the warrior caste at ÇB. viii. 4. 2. 4; the saptadaçastoma with Varuṇa and the vāirūpa-sāman at ÇB. viii. 6. 1. 7, with the 'man-viewers' i. e. the gods and the peasant-caste at ÇB. viii. 4. 2. 5; finally, the ekaviṅça-stoma with Soma and the vāirāja-sāman at ÇB. viii. 6. 1. 8, with out-breathing and down-breathing, and with rain and wind at ÇB. viii. 4. 2. 6.[1] It should also be noted that in the description of the fire-altar under the guise of an animal (ÇB. viii. 4. 4. 4–7) the two trivṛt-bricks form its head, the two ekaviṅça-bricks its feet, the two pañcadaça-bricks its fore-feet or arms, while the two saptadaça-bricks stand for food. In a similar manner the vikṛti-formula VS. xii. 4 (ÇB. vi. 7. 2. 6) makes the trivṛt-stoma the head, the gāyatrī the eye, the bṛhat-sāman and the rathaṁtara-sāman the two wings, the stoma (i. e., according to ÇB the pañcaviṅça-stoma) the self, the metres the limbs, the sacrificial formulas the name, the vāmadevya-sāman the body, and the yajñā-yajñīyasāman the tail.

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68. 3 ajam, 4, açvam, 69. 1, gām, 2, avim: Cf. ÇB. vi. 5. 4. 16, prajāpater vāi çokād ajā samabhavan; vi. 4. 4. 12 connects the he-goat with the priestly caste, the horse with the warrior caste, but assigns the ass to the Vāiçya and Çūdra castes combined.

[1] Cf. also VS. xiii, 54–57 (ÇB. viii, 1. 1. 5; 8; 2. 1; 5)

68. 4, bāhubhyām . . . vīryād: Cf. ÇB. v. 4. 1. 17, vīryaṁ vā etad rājanyasya yad bāhu; vi. 3. 1. 33 bāhuno vāi vīryaṁ kriyate.

69. 2, prajaniṣṇur: Cf. ÇB. vi. 6. 1. 7–8. where the cake to Vāiçvānara is identified with the warrior caste (kṣatra) and the pap (caru) to the Ādityas with the peasantry (viç). This pap is offered to many divinities (viz. all the Ādityas), because it consists of many grains of rice, just as there are many Ādityas, and thus viçi tad bhūmānaṁ dadhāti, 'he bestows multiplicity on the peasantry.' Cf. also Cicero, De rep., ii. 40, in quo etiam verbis ac nominibus fuit diligens, qui . . . eos qui aut non plus mille quingentos aeris aut omnino nihil suum in censum praeter caput attulissent 'proletarios' nominavit, ut ex iis quasi proles, it est quasi progenies civitatis expectari videretur; Aulus Gellius, xvi. 10, [proletarii] prosperiore vocabulo a munere officioque prolis edendae appellati sunt, quod, cum re familiari parva minus possent rem publicam iuvare, subolis tamen gignendae copia civitatem frequentarent.

2. pratiṣṭhāyā: From AV. x. 2. 1 down pratiṣṭhā is frequent for pādāu, cf. ÇB. vi. 1. 1. 3; vii. 1. 2. 13; x. 6. 1. 4.

2. veçmapatidevas: Neither this compound nor veçmapati are recorded in the Petersburg dictionaries.

Yale University. Hanns Oertel.

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Conn. refers to the present article.

Actes refers to *Actes du onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, vol. i. 1899.

Stud. refers to *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, herausgegeben von Max Koch, vol. viii, 1908.

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THE AUSTERE CONSISTENCY OF PERICLES

(PLUTARCH'S PERICLES, IX-XV)

B. PERRIN

VII.—The Austere Consistency of Pericles.

(Plutarch's Pericles ix–xv.)

After an unusually lengthy and formal introduction (i, ii), Plutarch announces as subjects for the tenth book of his Parallel Lives, Pericles and Fabius Maximus, *ἀνδρῶν κατά τε τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ὁμοίων, μάλιστα δὲ πραότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι φέρειν δήμων καὶ συναρχόντων ἀγνωμοσύνας ὠφελιμωτάτων ταῖς πατρίσι γενομένων.* At the outset, then, there is no derogatory note in his estimate of Pericles.

In chapters iii–vi, Plutarch, in customary manner, treats of the *γένος, παιδεία,* and *ἦθος* of Pericles. Here also, in spite of the jibes of the Comic Poets and the unfriendly testimony of Ion, no shade of detraction is admitted among the portrait-painter's colors.

Chapter vii describes the entrance of Pericles into public life. When Aristides was dead, Themistocles in banishment, and Cimon was kept by his campaigns for the most part abroad, *οὕτω δὴ φέρων ὁ Περικλῆς τῷ δήμῳ προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, ἀντὶ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ὀλίγων τὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ πενήτων ἑλόμενος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἥκιστα δημοτικὴν οὖσαν. Ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικε, δεδιὼς μὲν ὑποψίᾳ περιπεσεῖν τυραννίδος, ὁρῶν δ' ἀριστοκρατικὸν τὸν Κίμωνα καὶ διαφερόντως ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαπώμενον, ὑπῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀσφάλειαν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, δύναμιν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνου παρασκευαζόμενος.* Here a slightly derogatory note is heard, which is wholly inconsistent with the testimony following as to the general demeanor of Pericles. "He made a different ordering in his way of life. On one street only in the city was he to be seen walking, —the one which took him to the market-place and the council-chamber. Invitations to dinner and all familiar and friendly intercourse he declined. . . . Seeking to avoid the satiety which springs from continual intercourse, he made his approaches to the people by intervals, as it were, not speaking on every question, nor addressing them on every occasion, but offering himself like the Salaminian trireme, as Critolaus says, for great emergencies. The rest of his policy he carried out by commissioning his friends and other public speakers." This is certainly not the demeanor of a man who "courts the favor of the multitude that he may secure safety for himself and power to wield against his rival." Nor in the following chapter (viii), devoted to a description of the "grand manner" of Pericles, of his irresistible eloquence, and to a record of some

of his memorable sayings, is there the slightest suggestion of the scheming demagogue. Plutarch evidently has two entirely different conceptions of Pericles before him, between which he wavers, not only here, but often in the Life. These two different conceptions of Pericles are the Thucydidean and the Platonic, as is clearly seen from the opening of the next chapter (ix).

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θουκυδίδης μὲν ἀριστοκρατικήν τινα τὴν τοῦ Περικλέους ὑπογράφει πολιτείαν, λόγῳ μὲν οὖσαν δημοκρατίαν, ἔργῳ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχήν, ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνου φασὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ κληρουχίας καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομὰς προαχθῆναι κακῶς ἐθισθέντα καὶ γενόμενον πολυτελῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστον ὑπὸ τῶν τότε πολιτευμάτων ἀντὶ σώφρονος καὶ αὐτουργοῦ, θεωρείσθω δια τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἡ αἰτία τῆς μεταβολῆς.

The words of Thucydides which Plutarch has in mind are in the famous eulogy of Pericles, ii, 65, from which they may be cited, with enough besides to complete the Thucydidean estimate of the man. *Αἴτιον δ' ἦν ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν δυνατὸς ὢν τῷ τε ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ χρημάτων τε διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος γενόμενος κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρως, καὶ οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτὸς ἦγε, διὰ τὸ μὴ κτώμενος ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς ἡδονήν τι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει καὶ πρὸς ὀργήν τι ἀντειπεῖν. ὁπότε γοῦν αἴσθοιτό τι αὐτοὺς παρὰ καιρὸν ὕβρει θαρσοῦντας, λέγων κατέπλησσεν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ δεδιότας αὖ ἄλογος ἀντικαθίστη πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν. ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή.* In this striking tribute Thucydides not only assigns to Pericles all those high qualities which even his enemies could not deny him, *viz.* dignity, probity, and powerful leadership, but also expressly denies that charge which his enemies made against him, and by which even so staunch a friend as Plutarch is often influenced, *viz.* that he resorted to unworthy means for winning the favor of the people. It is the testimony of the greatest historian of antiquity, whose early manhood was lived during the political supremacy of the man whom he eulogizes, and whose political sympathies were naturally with the party which opposed that man. It was written after the imperial democracy of Pericles had discredited itself in the eyes of the Hellenic world and gone down in awful disaster, a time when the bitterness of defeat and loss might well have found some echo in the words of a less candid writer than Thucydides in speaking of him who more than any other man was the creator of the imperial democracy of Athens. It was written not many years before that Platonic testimony was given to which Plutarch immediately refers, and which is practically repeated and emphasized by Aristotle.

The words of Plato which Plutarch has in mind may be found in the *Gorgias* (pp. 515 E, 519 A). *Ἀλλὰ τόδε μοι εἰπὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, εἰ*

λέγονται Ἀθηναίοι διὰ Περικλέα βελτίους γεγονέναι, ἢ πᾶν τοὐναντίον διαφθαρῆναι ὑπ' ἐκείνου. ταυτὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἀκούω, Περικλέα πεποικέναι Ἀθηναίους ἀργοὺς καὶ δειλοὺς καὶ λάλους καὶ φιλαργύρους, εἰς μισθοφορίαν πρῶτον καταστήσαντα.

Ἄνευ γὰρ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης λιμένων καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τειχῶν καὶ φόρων καὶ τοιούτων φλυαριῶν ἐμπεπλήκασι τὴν πόλιν· ὅταν οὖν ἔλθῃ ἡ καταβολὴ αὕτη τῆς ἀσθενείας, τοὺς τότε παρόντας αἰτιάσονται συμβούλους, Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ καὶ Κίμωνα καὶ Περικλέα ἐγκωμιάσουσι, τοὺς αἰτίους τῶν κακῶν.

Conceived in the same spirit are the words of Aristotle in his *Constitution of Athens*, xxvii. *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ δημαγωγεῖν ἐλθόντος Περικλέους, καὶ πρῶτον εὐδοκιμήσαντος ὅτε κατηγόρησε τὰς εὐθύνας Κίμωνος στρατηγοῦντος νέος ὤν, δημοτικωτέραν ἔτι συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν . . . ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρα τὰ δικαστήρια Περικλῆς πρῶτος, ἀντιδημαγωγῶν πρὸς τὴν Κίμωνος εὐπορίαν.*

For both Thucydides and Plato, Plutarch has a profound respect, and their totally contradictory estimates of Pericles give him trouble, He solves his difficulty by an amiable compromise. Both authorities are right. In the earlier part of his career, when struggling against powerful rivals for the leadership of the people, Pericles was the truckling demagogue of Plato; but once secure in power and rid of rivals, he changed and became the austere, compelling statesman of Thucydides. Elsewhere Plutarch is not wholly impervious to the influence of the mass of calumny and outrageous misrepresentation which he finds heaped upon Pericles by the multitudinous sources at his disposal. At one time he is willing to make some concession, and Pericles, though not the base assassin of Ephialtes, as Idomeneus represented, was perhaps not in all points irreproachable (*πάντῃ μὲν ἴσως οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτῳ*), yet had a noble disposition and an ambitious spirit, wherein no savage and bestial feelings could have their abode (x, 6). He apparently accepts, at least he does not contradict, the accusation that the Samian war was undertaken at the request of Aspasia (xxv, 1). Again, in the matter of the Megarian decree and the personal motives for its enactment ascribed to Pericles, he suspends judgment. "Whatever the original ground for enacting the decree—and it is no easy matter to determine this fact,—that it was not rescinded all men alike lay to the charge of Pericles. Only, some say that he persisted in his refusal in a lofty spirit and with a clear perception of the best interests of the city, regarding the injunction laid upon it as a test of its submissiveness, and its compliance as a confession of weakness; while others hold that it was rather with a sort of arrogance and love of strife, as well as for the display of his power, that he scornfully defied the Lacedæmonians" (xxxi, 1). And again, after rehearsing the malicious

charge that Pericles feared the results of threatened prosecution, "and so kindled into flame the threatening and smouldering war, hoping thereby to dissipate the charges made against him and allay the people's jealousy, inasmuch as when great undertakings were on foot, and great perils threatened, the city entrusted herself to him and to him alone, by reason of his worth and power," Plutarch has only courage to say, "such, then, are the reasons which are alleged for his not suffering the people to yield to the Lacedæmonians; but the truth about the matter is not clear" (xxxii, 3). And yet the truth was perfectly clear to Thucydides, judging from the lofty words which he puts into the mouth of Pericles (i, 140 f.). "I would have none of you imagine that he will be fighting for a small matter if we refuse to annul the Megarian decree, of which they make so much, telling us that its revocation would prevent the war. You should have no lingering uneasiness about this; you are not really going to war for a trifle. For in the seeming trifle is involved the trial and confirmation of your whole purpose . . . Any claim, the smallest as well as the greatest, imposed on a neighbor and an equal when there has been no legal award, can mean nothing but slavery" (Jowett).

In the face of malicious testimony against Pericles we find Plutarch thus making concession, or suspending judgment. But in the case now under study, where he is confronted by apparently contradictory testimony from authorities high in his regard, we find him making an amiable compromise. At a certain point in his career there was a change in Pericles, a *μεταβολή*, before which he was the Platonic Pericles, and after which he was the Thucydidean Pericles. This is the assumption which Plutarch makes in ix. 1, and then argues fully, with bountiful illustration, from ix, 2 through xv, at the close of which we find him once more fully imbued with the Thucydidean estimate of Pericles. Similarly, in his estimate of Themistocles, we find him Herodotean in manner and matter, but finally Thucydidean in spirit. After making his assumption, then, Plutarch thus proceeds, examining in detail "the reason for the change."

In the beginning, pitted as Pericles was against Cimon, he tried to ingratiate himself with the people. And since he was Cimon's inferior in wealth, by means of which Cimon won over the poor, he had recourse to the distribution of the people's own wealth. And soon, what with festival-grants and jurors' wages and other feeings and largesses, he bribed the multitude by the wholesale, and used them to humble the Areiopagus and ostracise Cimon (ix).

The defeat at Tanagra filled the Athenians with a repentant desire for Cimon, and so Pericles gratified their desire by recalling Cimon from banishment (x). That he might make head against the aristocratic party under the leadership of Thucydides, Pericles gave the reins to the people, and made his policy one of pleasing them, devising for them pageants, and sending out expeditions and colonies for their benefit (xi). With his vast building enterprises he robbed the allies to keep the whole city under pay (xii, xiii), and the popularity thus won enabled him finally to ostracise Thucydides (xiv). Thus he succeeded in bringing Athens and her empire under his own sole control (xv, 1).

"*But then he was no longer the same man as before*, nor alike submissive to the people and ready to give in to the desires of the multitude as a steersman to the breezes. nay, rather, forsaking his former low-keyed and sometimes voluptuous management of the people, as it were a flowery and soft melody, he struck the high and clear note of an aristocratic and kingly statesmanship, and employing it for the best interests of all in a direct and undeviating fashion, he led the people, for the most part willingly, by his persuasions and instructions. There were times when they were sorely vexed at him, but then he tightened the reins and forced them into the way of their advantage with a master's hand, for all the world like a wise physician . . . And the reason for his success was not his power as a speaker merely, but, as Thucydides says, the reputation of his life and the confidence reposed in him as one manifestly proven to be utterly disinterested and superior to bribes. He made the city, great as it was when he took it, the greatest and richest of all cities, and grew to be superior in power to kings and tyrants . . ., and yet he did not make his own estate a drachma richer than it was when his father left it to him" (xv, 2–5).

This assumption of a change in Pericles after his acquisition of complete power is original with Plutarch. It cannot be found in any of his multitudinous sources. Of contemporary witnesses, such as the Comic Poets, Ion, Stesimbrotus, Herodotus, Thucydides, not one suggests it. The eulogy of Thucydides and the animadversions of Plato and Aristotle alike apply to the entire career of Pericles. We must choose between the two, although an amiable compromise between them may be as convenient for us as for Plutarch. The contemporary and most authoritative evidence presents Pericles as consistent in his austerity, remoteness, and majestic power. He was always the "Olympian," against whose stately figure the waves of scurrilous abuse dashed only to be themselves shattered. Nor can

such a change as that which Plutarch assumes in him be based on sound psychology, any more than that which Ferrero assumes in Julius Cæsar, at the outbreak of the Civil War, into "a new and unexpected character,—that of the moderate and exemplary citizen disposed to every reasonable concession and solely desirous of the public good." No wonder that Cæsar is to Ferrero "the psychological puzzle of the age." The "Protean changes" through which he is made to pass are due in great part to the historian's nimble passage from one set of traditions to another and a conflicting one. Great natures do not suffer complete change in the hour of their maturity, though they may be judged very differently by contemporary or later observers. According to the view of Thucydides, Pericles won and kept his marvelous power over the Athenian people by the same means. He trained and educated them up to their imperial calling by a consistent and methodical statesmanship. There was no change in his teaching or his method. His great work, at least in its outward semblance, though the memory of it is an abiding inspiration of the race, perished for lack of continued teaching and method like his. And both Thucydides and Plato judge the man after his great work had apparently perished. Both their estimates of the man may, therefore, in a sense, be right, but not by reason of any change in Pericles. And one may cling to the Thucydidean estimate of Pericles, and yet follow Wilamowitz when he says (*Aristoteles und Athen*, ii, p. 102): "die athenische demokratie, wie Perikles sie vollendet hat, ist ein gebilde, zu fein für menschen, und darum denen selbst verderblich, die sie zur herrschaft beruft; an der politik des Perikles ist Hellas zu grunde gegangen. aber was wäre schön, das für die menschen nicht zu fein wäre? Platons Staat ist es erst recht, und der staatsmann, der in der grauenhaften folge von wüsten und blutigen jahrhunderten, die wir weltgeschichte nennen, einen augenblick geschaffen hat, zu dem wir sagen mögen, verweile doch, du bist so schön, ist trotz allem ein grosser zauberer gewesen."

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SWIFT'S HOAX ON PARTRIDGE, THE ASTROLOGER, AND SIMILAR JESTS IN FICTION

RUDOLPH SCHEVILL

VIII.—Swift's Hoax on Partridge, the Astrologer, and similar Jests in Fiction.

Readers of Swift will always recall the amusement which they derived from their first acquaintance with the famous predictions of Isaac Bickerstaff for the year 1708, "wherein the month, and the day of the month are set down, the persons named, and the great actions and events of the next year particularly related as they will come to pass. Written to prevent the people of England from being farther imposed on by vulgar almanac-makers." These predictions, aimed by Swift at one John Partridge, cobbler, doctor, astrologer and almanac-maker, resemble, in their main features at least, a tale which can be found in almost all languages of Europe; it was so wide-spread and had been so frequently retold, that one is forced to believe that Swift may have made use of the chief idea of some one version known to him in his joke on Partridge. For the sake of clearness, a resumé of the latter will not come amiss.

Swift's campaign against Partridge consists of five prose skits [1] and an elegy on the supposed death of the astrologer. In the first he imitates the manner of the current almanacs, and prophesies events for the year 1708, the first of which is to be the death of Partridge. The second, purporting to have been written by a person of quality, contains some reflections on Mr. Bickerstaff's predictions. The third announces the accomplishment of the first prediction, "being an account of the death of Mr. Partridge, the almanac-maker, upon the 29th instant." Two or three days before the fatal date, it says, Partridge had fallen ill, was first confined to the house, and in a few hours after to his bed. Rumors soon spread that he was past hope, and in his last confession he admitted his ignorance and discredited the profession of all astrologers. As a natural result of this hoax, the report of the astrologer's death spread with great persistency; "the company of stationers struck the dead Partridge from their rolls, and asked for an injunction against the continued publication of almanacs in his name. The fame of Bickerstaff extended over Europe, and the Inquisition of Portugal, having

[1] Cf. *The Works of Jonathan Swift*, etc., with notes and a life of the author by Sir Walter Scott; 2nd edition, 19 vols., Boston and London, 1883–4; vol. viii. pp. 437–484.

heard of the verification of his predictions, ordered the book to be burned, as an unmistakable emanation from the Evil One."[1]

Partridge could not convince the world that he was still alive. He made known through his almanac for the following year "that he is not only now alive, but was also alive upon the 29th of March in question." Thereupon appeared the best skit of the series, "Squire Bickerstaff detected, or the astrological imposter convicted." There is some controversy about the authorship of this paper; but, be the writer who he may, it is generally conceded that Swift had a hand in it. The article purports to have been written by Partridge himself, who complains of having been most inhumanly buried alive, and gives a faithful account of the hard usage which he has received from the "malicious practices" of the pretended astrologer Bickerstaff. On the night fixed for Partridge's last, the maid "with a curiosity natural to young wenches, runs to the window and asks of one passing the street, who the bell tolled for?" The person interrogated as well as several others reply that it is for Doctor Partridge. Then a sober fellow enters and is shown into the dining room, and when Partridge appears, the intruder is already on the table with a two-foot rule, taking the dimensions of the room. He has been sent, he says, to see that the apartments of the bereaved house are properly hung in mourning. In a great fury Partridge drives the fellow out, without having persuaded him, however, that he is still alive. He has no sooner got back to bed "in hopes of a little repose after so many ruffling adventures," when Ned the sexton knocks and asks, "whether the doctor left any orders for a funeral sermon, and where he is to be laid, etc.?" Partridge reproaches the sexton for this affront, but the latter replies that the whole town knows he is dead, and that there can be "no reason why he should make such a secret of his death to his neighbors."

For three months the annoyance continues; people ask his pardon for greeting him on the street, because he looked so like the late Dr. Partridge; the reader of the parish sends two or three times for him to come and be buried decently or send him sufficient reasons to the contrary; his wife is distracted with being called Widow Partridge. A monument would have been erected to his memory in the parish church, if the question whether he was alive or not, had not been voted on, and decided in the affirmative by

[1] Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, under *John Partridge*, vol. xliii, p. 429.

only two voices. Finally Partridge appeals for redress against having been thus murdered by prophecy.

Then came the last skit, Bickerstaff's answer to Partridge's expostulations. This was intended to show how flimsy all of Partridges arguments were to prove that he was still alive, and closes with the assertion, that he (Bickerstaff) would have been very indiscreet to begin his predictions with a falsehood. Moreover, he insists that Partridge died, not within four hours, but in half an hour's time of the predicted moment; and it appears that the astrologer admitted in the end that he was dead.

2.

The fundamental idea of such a jest, in which a whole community seems to join in order to convince its victim that he has died, may be found, as has been said, in a large number of stories. The dupe is quite invariably some man, and the deceiver, with or without the connivance of kind neighbors, is generally his wife; in accord with the universally accepted truth of the well-known adage, *mulier est hominis confusio*. But these tales, in so far as their chief *motif* is deception, are part of a large series of similar stories which are sometimes found separately, having been handed down by oral transmission among many peoples, sometimes recorded together as part of a framework into which are fitted tales closely allied in their main features, namely the deception of some one for the amusement of those who design the trick. Before touching again on the nature and relation of these tales, it will be worth while to give the story which, of the whole number, most clearly resembles Swift's joke on Partridge.

This is the first of three hoaxes to be found in a Spanish novel, *los tres maridos burlados*, 'the three duped husbands,' by Gabriel Tellez, the noted playwright, better known as Tirso de Molina (1571–1648).[1]

It runs in part as follows: Three women who are quarreling over the possession of a ring refer their dispute to a fourth person; the latter decides that she is to have it, who plays the best joke on her husband. Only the first hoax concerns us here.

[1] Cf. *Los Cigarrales de Toledo*, Madrid, 1624, containing a collection of tales, *comedias* and short lyric poems. Tirso de Molina patterned this book after the *Decamerone*; and, like other literary miscellanies which appeared at that time, it was widely read.

There lives in the neighborhood of the first woman, whose husband is cashier in a bank, an astrologer, one of the kind who could prophesy more easily what was likely to happen in other people's houses than in his own. The cashier's wife decides to make use of this man in her scheme of duping her husband. It is the day before Shrove Tuesday, and that being an occasion which served much as our first of April for general merrymaking, the astrologer and prophet forms a plan to convince the husband that within twenty-four hours he is doomed to give an account of himself in the next world. Many friends are made accomplices in the jest.

The astrologer first meets the cashier upon his return from the bank that very evening and pretends to be shocked by his bad color. "Has any indisposition got hold of you, neighbor?" he asks. The cashier protests that he never felt better in all his life, while the astrologer informs him with some hesitation of his impending fate so clearly written in the stars. The cashier tries to laugh the matter away by appealing to other false prophecies made by the astrologer whose reputation appears not to have been of the best. He resumes his way home somewhat disturbed, nevertheless, "stopping from time to time to feel his pulse." At supper he eats sparingly and finally, with a sigh, he undresses and goes to bed. After a broken sleep, he returns to his customary task in the morning, remaining at the bank the entire day. While on his way home, he overhears a conversation carried on by several acquaintances on a street-corner. "Yes, that was an unexpected death of Lucas Moreno (the cashier)," says one; "he was found in his bed this morning, having died without receiving the last unction." "God have pity on his soul," says another; "but his wife can marry again." When Lucas is about to approach them, they disperse. On the next corner he sees the astrologer and a friend. The one was saying, "Well, he is sorry at this moment that he didn't believe me," and the other, "Yes, the ill-fated fellow was something of a glutton; he must have eaten too much and had a stroke." Whereupon the troubled cashier approaches and says, "What is all this? Performing rites over me while still alive?" But the others take to their heels in terror, shouting, "Almighty Heaven! Here's the soul of Lucas Moreno fresh from the lower regions." Near his own house the cashier meets another friend who also beats a hasty retreat, crying, "Blessed souls of Purgatory, is this a hallucination or the dead Lucas Moreno?" and Lucas answers, "When the deuce did I die to cause so much consternation?" and seizes the friend by his cloak; but the terrified man leaves it

in his hands, shouting, "Abrenuntio," and makes his escape. "Hold on," says the bewildered cashier, "it is clear that I must have died."

While pondering thus he reaches his own house and, finding the door locked, knocks loudly. It is a cold, dark night; no one is in the house with his wife except one servant, as artful as her mistress, who, on hearing the knock, asks with a tearful voice, "Who knocks at such an hour at this sad abode?" Naturally Lucas cannot persuade them that he is the master of the house; therefore, after some parleying in the cold and rain, he breaks through the door while the servant flees, and his wife, dressed in mourning, faints at the sight of him. The cashier is now absolutely convinced of his death. In the meanwhile the servant has informed all accomplices in the jest of what passed in the house, and when morning comes, the wife, dressed in gay attire, rouses her husband. But he, noticing the absence of all signs of mourning, which had been removed by his wife during his sleep, is more mystified than ever. He imagines that he is in heaven and rehearses the whole story of his experiences of the day before, while his wife summons her friends to prove that her husband must have lost his mind. All deny that they ever met him on the street, or fled from him in terror, and poor Lucas finds his last state worse than the first. Persuaded finally that he dreamed it all, the duped husband no longer tries to explain the jest of which he has been the victim.

3.

This story of Tirso's has a purely literary character, easily distinguished from similar traditional stories which have been orally transmitted; it is, as will be remembered, one of three tales enclosed in the framework of a fourth; that is, three stories are told within a fourth which explains them. In this form the tale exists in numerous literatures, in versions marked by some diversities, and it has already been treated by scholars of repute in the study of fiction and folklore.[1] As a rule, however, every one has given mere lists of similar tales without attempting to prove their relation or establish a line of descent from an original version. The latter is not likely to become possible. At best one may hope to distinguish between literary and folkloristic, or traditional versions, to show how the first may be an embroidered form of the second, or how, among certain stories which readily group themselves together,

[1] Cf. Appendix I.

definite relations are manifest. As a full discusion of all the material is beyond the space allotted to this article, the character and relation of these stories can be merely indicated.

One of the earliest yarns told in many places ages ago, even in primitive forms of society, is one whose fundamental idea is mystification or deception of some kind; the specific class of these innumerable tales which concerns us here, turns on the deception of a man who is made to doubt his own identity. Now the step from the trick which persuades a man that he is some one else to that which convinces him that he is dead was a simple one. Stories of these jests, especially the latter, are very common indeed, as the appended incomplete references will show.[1] They must have been current all over Europe, and were no doubt stock anecdotes of every wandering minstrel or friar, merchant or crusader, from the earliest days of the middle ages, until the printing presses preserved them for later epochs. Bédier seems to believe that wherever this specific story of a duped husband occurs in an isolated form, it has fallen out of a frame which originally held it, a frame which accounted for and held together related hoaxes. It must have been rather the reverse. These stories of deception existed independently, though perhaps in a crude popular form at a very youthful stage of fiction, and were then absorbed into a complex literary frame at a much later date. When some writer had conceived the idea of a tale according to which a prize is to be given to that one of three women who deceives her husband in the cleverest way, he could easily draw upon the enormous fund of folklore for stories of deception. A little embroidery of one of the many anecdotes circulating about could then make it suitable for his purpose. Be this as it may, the thing of importance is the widespread existence of the hoax, according to which a man is persuaded that he is ill and about to die. Every age and every nation have examples of it.

4.

In view of these facts, how probable is it that Swift was acquainted with this jest in fiction, especially with the version most like his joke on Partridge, namely the Spanish tale by Tirso de Molina? Anyone who hastily considers the character of Swift's age might be inclined to suppose that imaginative or romantic literature could

[1] Cf. Appendix II.

not at that time have been viewed with any very great favor. This, however, is an unwarranted conclusion in the case of Swift, at all events, and of his circle of friends; the unusually miscellaneous character of his allusions reveals the fact that he made excursions into many fields of fiction and romance.

There are in his works, in the first place, a large number of references to books of chivalry;[1] and in the specific case of Don Quixote,[2] there can be no doubt that Swift knew and intensely admired that work, for it is mentioned by him with great frequency. He was acquainted also with the noted rogue story *Guzman de Alfarache,*[3] a book widely current not only in the original Spanish, but in translations. But there is a peculiar interest in a statement of his *Journal to Stella*:[4] "I borrowed one or two idle books of *Contes des Fées*, and have been reading them these two days, although I have much business upon my hands."

This is ample evidence of his love of simple tales, even of fairy stories. In his *Tale of a Tub*, it will be recalled, he makes use of the old story of the three rings. Again, in *Martinus Scriblerus*[5] there is a "recipe to make an epic poem" which urges the poet to use certain romances of chivalry. Just so in Pope's *Key to the Lock*, the mention of romantic and adventurous tales, such as the fiction of Petronius Arbiter, Lucian's *True History*, Barclay's *Argenis*, und Rabelais' *Gargantua*, shows that such fiction was well-known in Swift's circle of friends.[6]

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[1] Cf. *Works*, iv, p. 144: A preface to the Bishop of Sarum's introduction to the 3rd volume of the history of the Reformation of the Church of England, etc.: "I was debating with myself, whether this hint of producing a small pamphlet to give notice of a large folio, was not borrowed from the ceremonial in Spanish romances, where a dwarf is sent out upon the battlements, to signify to all passengers what a mighty giant there is in the castle, etc."; v, p. 301: The Behavior of the Queen's last ministry: "it will . . . be reckoned such a strain upon truth and probability, as is hard to be equalled in a Spanish romance, etc."; v, p. 432: The character of Richard Steele: "he has behaved himself with such mighty prowess in his first encounter, that it is suspected . . . that his shield and his sword are the gift of some famous necromancer, and equal in virtue to Mambrino's helmet."

[2] *Don Quixote* is referred to often; characteristic passages are: Vol. ix, p. 231: x, *Tale of a tub*, pp. 41, 78; xvi, p. 471: etc.

[3] Cf. Vol. v, p. 407.

[4] Cf. ii, no. 29, p. 468.

[5] Cf. Vol. xiii, chap. 15.

[6] Cf. Vol. xiii, p. 155.

Though Swift may have known many of these romances in English versions, it is also certain that he could have read them in the original Italian, Spanish, or French languages, the last two of which he read and even wrote without difficulty. Of this there is ample evidence. "If at night I am deserted," he says, "I read a little philosophy first, then some poetry or a little Spanish prose, and never awake out of my studies till all the house is asleep."[1] And in the Preface to Sir William Temple's Works he says: "I have also made some literal amendments, especially in the Latin, French and Spanish."[2] Swift's knowledge of Spanish must have been known to his friends also, for in a letter from America, his friend Hunter[3] quotes *Don Quixote* in Spanish, apropos of Sancho's opinion on government. Moreover on foreign languages he has the decided opinions of one who reads them frequently and understands their peculiar qualities; and in comparing them with English, he even dwells on the superiority which, in some respects, Italian, Spanish, and French have over his own speech.[4] Finally Swift's knowledge of Spanish affairs and, of the general condition of the Peninsula was very extensive, as an examination of his writings of a historical and political nature clearly shows.

If Swift's acquaintance with Spanish fiction, and so probably with one of its foremost figures, Tirso de Molina, can be asserted after what has been said, his reading must have been stimulated also by the interest and familiarity which several of his intimate friends showed in the literature of Spain. His close friend Dr. Thomas Sheridan was occupied for a long time in collecting several volumes of stories and anecdotes culled from the foremost literatures of Europe. Swift speaks of this collection on several occasions,

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[1] Cf. Vol. vii, p. 203: Two letters to the publisher of the Dublin Weekly.

[2] Cf. Vol. ix, p. 105.

[3] Then governor of New York; cf. Vol. xvi, p. 26.

[4] Cf. Vol. ix, p. 87: The Intelligencer, iii. "I agree with Sir William Temple, that the word (humour) is peculiar to our English tongue; but I differ from him in the opinion, that the thing itself is peculiar to the English nature, because the contrary may be found in *many* Spanish, Italian and French productions: and particularly, whoever has a taste for true humour, will find a hundred instances of it in those volumes printed in France under the name of *Le Théâtre Italien*: to say nothing of Rabelais, Cervantes and many others. Cf. also p. 88; p. 137 (a letter to the Lord High Treasurer) and p. 141.

and no doubt knew its contents well.[1] It was never published, but we know that it contained many stories from the Spanish.[2]

Swift was also an intimate friend of Lord Carteret[3] whose circle was interested in the literature of Spain; and it was at his instance that the first carefully prepared edition of Don Quixote saw the light in London (1738) with the first biography of Cervantes. And Sir William Temple, too, Swift's noted friend, reveals in his works and letters a wide acquaintance with numerous matters concerning the language, the literature, and the affairs in general of the Spanish Peninsula. Thus Swift moved in an atmosphere in which he could continually find an incentive to Spanish reading.

Indeed, it is of interest to note too, that when Swift's reputation spread through England, and abroad, he early came to be looked on as a kind of English Cervantes.[4] And so, knowing how greatly he admired the author of *Don Quixote*, we can imagine him turning to the adventures of that famous Knight and his squire, to while away his lonely evenings, when, as he says, he read Spanish prose long after the rest of the house was asleep. He may also have included the novel by Tirso de Molina in these midnight readings; he may possibly have read it in the French version of D'Ouville,[5] so frequently printed in his own day. Tirso's works, at all events, had had influence on English and French playwrights before Bickerstaff's hoax on Partridge was conceived, and perhaps Swift may have thought the jest on the duped husband worth repeating in the case of the poor English almanac-maker.

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[1] Cf. Vol. xviii, p. 92: Correspondence; letter to Dr. Sheridan: "I am confident your collection of *bon mots*, and *contes à rire*, will be much the best extant, etc."

[2] Cf. Vol. ix, p. 302: Character of Dr. Sheridan: "He has left behind him a very great collection, in several volumes, of stories, humorous, witty, wise, or some way useful, gathered from a vast number of Greek, Roman, Italian, Spanish, French and English writers. I believe I may have seen about thirty, etc." Cf. also: *Dictionary of National Biography*, under Dr. Th. Sheridan, Vol. lii, p. 86.

[3] Cf. Vol. xviii, p. 144, Epistolary correspondence: "Lord Carteret pulled me to the window, and bade me tell you that he loved and honoured you."

[4] Cf. Vol. xviii, p. 337, Letter from Lord Bathurst.

[5] Cf. Appendix I.

Appendix I.

The following studies refer to the story of the "man who believes himself dead" and usually to the versions in which it forms one of three hoaxes; some references to the isolated stories of Appendix II are occasionally added by the authors and annotators.

1. Liebrecht, Felix, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 124 ff.; also "Germania," I, p. 270.
2. "Hertziana," the card catalogue of the late Wilhelm Hertz in the Royal Library of Munich: cf. box 54, *Ehe*, under "Ehemann hält sich für tot."
3. Bédier, J., *Les Fabliaux*, deuxième édition. Paris, 1895, p. 265 ff., and for this, as well as related tales, pp. 197, 458 Ea., 468 Jb. and Kb., 469 Nb., 470 Ob., 475 Jc.
4. Koehler, R., *Kleinere Schriften*, I, p. 486; *Orient und Occident*, I, p. 431 ff., II, p. 686.
5. v. d. Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer*, Stuttgart, 1850, vol. II, p. xlix ff.
6. Keller, H. A. v., *Italienischer Novellenschatz*, Leipzig, 1851, II, p. 98; also *Fastnachtsspiele*, vol. 30, p. 1300 and vol. 46, p. 322 of the "Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart," *von dreien Weiben*.
7. Landau, M., *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, Stuttgart, 1884, pp. 82 and 155.
8. Schmidt, F. W. V., *Die Märchen Straparolas, aus dem Italienischen*, 1817, p. xxiv for related hoaxes.
9. Wesselski, A., *Heinrich Bebels Schwänke*, München und Leipzig, 1907, Buch II, p. 169–70.

   A resumé of all the versions of this hoax of the "dead man" in the peculiar form of three stories in one would show how remarkably well known the tale was all over Europe. In addition to the Spanish story by Tirso de Molina, there was the much read French translation by le Sieur D'Ouville, printed in Ristelhuber's edition: L'élite des contes du Sieur D'Ouville, avec introduction et notes, Paris, 1876, p. 146 ff., and notes, p. 168. Ristelhuber did not know the Spanish original. D'Ouville was reprinted frequently at the end of the 17 th century. An early German version (Spruch von Hans Folz, cf. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 130) resembles Bebels Latin anecdote, which is no. 4 of the collection mentioned above, *fabula de astutiis mulierum*; and probably dependent on the latter, are: "Comptes du monde aventureux," par Franck, no. xli and its verbal reprint by Verbo-

quet le généreux, *De trois ivrognes et de leurs femmes*, Paris, 1630; cf. Wesselski, above. There are besides: an early German tale published by Keller (cf. Liebrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 128); a Norwegian version (Liebrecht, p. 131); Islandic (Liebrecht, p. 132); Scotch (Popular tales of the West Highlands), orally collected by J. F. Campbell, Edinburgh, 1860, Vol. II, no. xlviii, p. 373 ff.; Danish (Liebrecht, p. 130); Sicilian (Liebrecht, p. 133); and Russian (Liebrecht, p. 139).

Appendix II.

The following list gives anecdotes and tales whose subject matter turns on the deception of a man who is persuaded that he is dead.

1. Jean de Boves, *Le vilain de Bailleul*, a fabliau (la femme qui fit croire à son mari qu'il était mort). Cf. Montaiglon's *Receuil*, iv, 212.
2. Gastius, *Conviviales sermones*, Basil. 1549, vol. i, p. 200; cf. Le Grand D'Aussy, *Fabliaux ou contes*, Paris 1829, iv, 195.
3. Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla*, edit. Crane, London, 1890; ex. ccxlviii, and p. 238. Here the wife merely persuades her husband that he is ill and must remain in bed.
4. Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, 3rd day, 8th novel: Ferondo, mangiata certa polvere, è sotterrato per morto, et dall' abate, che la moglie di lui si gode, tratto della sepoltura, è messo in prigione, et fattogli credere che egli è in purgatorio; et poi risuscitato, per suo nutrica un figliuolo dell' abate nella moglie di lui generato.
5. La Fontaine, *Contes*, quatrième partie, VI: (taken from Boccaccio) *Féronde ou le purgatoire*; edit. by Regnier: Les Grands Écrivains de la France, Vol. v, 1889, p. 379 ff. In this connection cf. also La Fontaine's Fables, book III, fable VII, *L'ivrogne et sa femme*, Vol. I, p. 223, in which a woman makes her husband believe that he is dead and in hell.
6. Poggio, *Facetiae*: de mortuo vivo ad sepulchrum deducto, loquente et risum movente.
7. Domenichi, Lodovico, *Facetie, motti e burle*; cf. Le Grand D'Aussy, *op. cit.*
8. Bandello, *Novelle*, II, no. 17: La moglie d'un Bresciano imbriaca, si pensa esser ita in paradiso, e dice di gran papolate.
9. Doni, A., *Tutte le novelle*, Milano, 1863, no. 6: Novella di Girolamo linaiuolo fiorentino che morì due volte e non risuscitò nessuna.

10. Fortini, Pietro, whose story *Santi* is contained in *Novelle di autori senesi*, Londra (Livorno) 1796, II, 309; cf. also II of "Romanische Meistererzähler": *Romanische Schelmennovellen*, deutsch von J. Ulrich, Leipzig, 1905, p. xlii, and pp. 154, 234.
11. Grazzini, *Novelle*, seconda cena, novella seconda: Mariotto tessitore Camaldolese detto Falananna, avendo grandissima voglia di morire, è servito dalla moglie, o dalla Berna, amante di lei, e credendosi veramente esser morto, ne va alla fossa.
12. Sabadino, *Settanta novelle*, dette le porretane, novella XLI; cf. edit. La Fontaine, Contes, *op. cit*, p. 380.
13. *Cent nouvelles nouvelles.* Bibliothèque Elzévirienne, no. VI: *L'ivrogne au paradis*, edit. by Wright, vol. I, p. 38, Paris, 1858.
14. Des Périers, Bonaventure, *Contes et joyeux devis*, nouvelle lxviii: 'de maistre Berthaud, à qui on fit accroire qu'il estait mort.'
15. *Le Grand Paragon des Nouvelles nouvelles*, lxxxvii: "D'ung abbé qui fut amoureux de la femme d'ung bon homme, lequel estoit jaloux, et, pour le guerir de jalousie, luy fit boire de l'endormye, puis aprez faingnit qu'il estoit mort et en purgatoire, et là le fit pugnir de son malfaict, puis aprez ressuscita."
16. *Proverbes illustres*, Paris, 1665, p. 10.
17. Imbert, *Nouvelles historiettes en vers*: *Le mort vivant*, Paris, 1774, III, 1.
18. Hardouin, *L'Almanach des Muses*, 1778, p. 79: *Le mort parlant*, conte tiré des facéties du Pogge.
19. *Ancien Théâtre français.* Paris, 1854, II, p. 21: *La Resurrection de Jenin Landore.*
20. Southerne, Thomas, *The Fatal Marriage, or The Innocent Adultery*, act IV, scene 1, in which a man is persuaded that he had died and is awakening from the dead in a tomb. This hoax is to cure him of jealousy; cf. no. 15 above.
21. v. d. Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer*, Stuttgart, 1850, vol. II, no. 45, p. 361: *Der begrabene êman*, and p. xlix of Introduction. Here the husband is actually buried alive.
22. Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, no. 144: "Einer het gern gewiszt wie sich sein fraw wolt halten nach seim dot"; cf. vol. 85 of 'Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart,' and p. 490.
23. *Mery Tales, wittie Questions and quicke Answeres*, very pleasant to readde, London, 1567, no. 82: 'Of hym that feyned hym selfe deed to proue what his wyfe wolde do.'

NOTES ON THE ARAMAIC PART OF DANIEL

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Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel.

According to the generally accepted view, the book of Daniel is the work of a single hand. Bevan, *Commentary on Daniel,* 1892, p. 6, writes : " During the last sixty or seventy years almost all writers unbiassed by dogmatic prejudices have maintained both the literary unity of Daniel and the theory of its Maccabean origin." And Cornill, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament,*[5] 1905, pp. 242 f. : " Trotz mancher und zum Teil schwerer Widersprüche in Einzelheiten ist kaum ein anderes ATliches Buch so einheitlich und so in Einem Zuge geschrieben, als gerade Daniel." To me, this view is impossible. I do not, indeed, sympathize with any attempt to analyze the book on the sole basis of the change of language, from Hebrew to Aramaic and back again ; nor with those who, like Meinhold, believe chaps. 2–6 to have been the original book, composed in Aramaic in the fourth century B.C. ; nor, finally, with those who in recent times have divided up the book among nearly as many authors as there are chapters. But to me it is quite plain that *with chapter 7 a new writer takes up the work and carries it on.* Both in his mental habit and in his manner of expressing himself he is altogether different from the writer of chaps. 1–6.

The first half of the book, as far as the end of chapter 6, consists of a succession of edifying popular tales, very simply conceived, and told in a fairly straightforward manner. They deal with miracles, it is true, but after the naive manner of folklore, like the stories in Judges or Exodus, or the narrative of Joseph in Gen. 40 ff. There is nothing dark or mysterious in the manner of presentation. The writer of chaps. 7–12, on the contrary, is a true apocalyptist. Chap. 7 is written in imitation of chap. 2, and therefore shows, necessarily, a good deal of resemblance to the first part of the book ; but even here the change is perfectly apparent, and with the subsequent chapters, to the end, we are in an atmosphere which differs from that of chaps. 1–6 as black differs from white. It is customary to speak of the book of Daniel as " an apocalyptic writing," but the fact ought to be recognized, and strongly emphasized, that *chaps. 1–6 are not at all apocalyptic.* Not even in chaps. 2 and 4 is there anything which could properly be classed under this head. The dreams of Nebuchadnezzar are no more " apocalyptic " than are those of Pharaoh and his officers (Gen. 40 f.), or the vision of Balaam in Num. 24 : 15 ff., or that of the Jewish sibyl in the

Sibylline Oracles, iii, 97 ff. There is an essential difference between apocalypse and mere vaticination.[1] But in chaps. 7–12 we have a continuous series of "apocalypses" in the true technical sense. The interpreting angels are present in every chapter; the strange beasts, which belong only to the supernatural world, are brought in to make their impression of terror, as usual; there is in each case the deep sleep, or trance, in which the seer is given the revelation. Everything is wrapped in portentous obscurity. The Daniel of these chapters is a character conceived in a manner very different from that of the first half of the book. There, he is a man who through his virtue has achieved wisdom. He is an impressive figure, self-possessed and commanding. He has "understanding in all visions and dreams." In one case (2:19) it is through a dream that he is enabled to solve the riddle proposed to him, but in the other cases he sees the answer directly. His interpretation is straightforward and perfectly definite. Even in 2:37–44 there was nothing that could have caused any of his contemporary readers a moment's hesitation—though there was here just enough of mystery in the manner of expression, characterizing the successive kingdoms instead of naming them outright, to suggest to the later writer how he might carry this method still further. But in chaps. 7 ff., the Daniel of the visions is not a person for whom the narrator feels any enthusiasm. He is merely a passive instrument in the hands of angels, like all the other heroes of Jewish apocalypses. He sees through nothing; it must all be explained to him. He gives no interpretation, but merely records what he is told; and when he awakes from the vision, he is ill from the effect of it.

There are other indications which point quite as unmistakably in the same direction, showing that we have before us the work of two different authors. The literary style of 7–12 differs widely from that of 1–6, and the fact that the greater part of one of these sections is written in Aramaic does not suffice to account for the difference. The style of chaps. 1 ff. has no striking peculiarities. It is somewhat repetitious, and has a few favorite mannerisms, but on the whole stands near to the average style of Jewish narrators. The writer of chaps. 7 ff., on the contrary, has a style which is highly original. While both picturesque and full of vigor, it is also marvellously disjointed and obscure, and filled with unusual phraseology, so that every paragraph has its pitfalls

[1] In my article „Apocalyptic Literature" in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, I attempted to define the "apocalypse" as a literary product, and to indicate the principal characteristics of the writings which belong to this peculiar class. My attempt was, so far as I am aware, the first one of the kind, and I do not know that any other has been made since that time.

for the interpreter. There is no other Hebrew prose style in the Old Testament so difficult as that of these chapters.[1]

The fact should also be noticed, in this connection, that the Persian words (and others probably supposed by the author to be Persian) which are introduced by the writer of the Daniel *stories* into every part of his composition, in order to give it local color, are entirely wanting in chaps. 7–12. In the first part, such words are found in every chapter, including chap. 1; but in the second part the writer does not use this device at all, not even in chap. 7, though he had abundant opportunity to do so if he had wished.

Still more striking, and in fact quite decisive by itself, is the contradiction in chronology existing between the two parts of the book. The writer of chaps. 1–6 tells us that his Daniel was carried away from Jerusalem, together with other young men of the nobles of Israel, in the third year of Jehoiakim, i. e. in 606 B.C. (1 : 1 ff.). And after telling the story of his special training in Babylon, and the great reputation which he and his three companions achieved, he adds (vs. 21): "*And Daniel continued* (ויהי דניאל) *even unto the first year of king Cyrus.*" As the best commentators have seen and said, there is only one legitimate way of understanding this sentence, namely, that Daniel lived to see the accession of Cyrus, and died in the first year of his reign, i. e. in 538 B.C. He would then have been eighty years of age, if we suppose him to have been only twelve years old at the time when he was carried away from Jerusalem; but it seems plain from 1 : 4 f., 2 : 1, 48, that the narrator thought of him as quite a little older than this. Then follow, in chronological order, the stories of Daniel and his companions under the successive kings who ruled over Babylonia. First came Nebuchadnezzar, chaps. 2–4; then Belshazzar, chap. 5; then came Darius, the one king who, according to the Jewish belief, ruled over

[1] This does not mean at all that the author of this apocalypse wrote "the Hebrew of his time," as it has been customary to say. Hebrew was still the learned language, in the Maccabean period, and was written with perfect ease by the well educated men of the nation, *and in every variety of style.* Some wrote with classical elegance, like the authors of Zech. 9–14 and (apparently) i Maccabees. Others, while using a large number of the Aramaisms and neo-Hebraic words and constructions which are more or less prominent in all the writings of the Greek period, nevertheless wrote in an easy and transparent idiom which causes trouble for no one but the purist. Such are Esther, Kohelcth, and Judith (the style of which may, indeed have been classical as well as transparent). Even such books as Jonah and Ruth might well, so far as their language is concerned, have been written in the second century B.C. And such men as the author of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah and the apocalyptist of Dan. 7–12, who, by the way, differ from

the separate Median kingdom, chap. 6;[1] and last of all, at the end of this same chapter, Cyrus is mentioned, in the words: "So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian" (6:29). That is, the writer returns to his original statement, that Daniel lived to see the day of Cyrus. The fitness of this verse to serve as *the close of the book* is very obvious. Now in the following chapters, 7–12, the history returns (of course) upon itself; beginning with Belshazzar, in chaps. 7 and 8, and continuing with Darius Hystaspis, "the Mede," in chap. 9. But the final vision, occupying chaps. 10–12, is dated "*in the third year of Cyrus* king of Persia." Here is a flat contradiction of the statement in chap. 1. The only plausible explanation is this, that the later writer, in making his addition to the book, remembered the words of 6:29, but forgot—or chose to disregard—those of 1:21.[2]

Again, it is customary to say that chaps. 1–6 reflect the conditions of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. Cornill, *Einleitung*, p. 242, even goes so far as to say: "Ferner sind gerade in den Danielgeschichten 2–6 die durchgängigen Beziehungen auf Antiochus Epiphanes und seine Verfolgung der jüdischen Religion ganz besonders unverkennbar." But this is a mere delusion. These stories, so far as they deal with the perils of devout Jews in the hands of foreign potentates, might perfectly well have been written at any time after 597 B.C. The Hebrews of Jerusalem certainly did not suppose that their brethren who went into captivity renounced their faith, or that they were all in high favor with the Babylonian monarchs. The Second Isaiah, for instance, says in 42:22, speaking of the "exiles" of Israel: "They are robbed and plundered; entrapped in holes, and hidden away in dungeons. They are become a prey, with none to rescue; a plunder, with none to say, Restore it!" And again, in 47:6, 49:24 ff., 51:13 f., etc., he declares

each other very widely in point of *style*, would certainly have written obscure Hebrew even if they had lived in the time of Amos. If they had composed their writings in Aramaic, the Aramaic would have been precisely as bad as the Hebrew.

[1] I have shown elsewhere that in the uniform Jewish tradition in the Greek period *Darius Hystaspis was transposed to the place just before Cyrus*, as the representative of the Median power; cf. 9:1, 10:1, 11:1. See the *Am. Journal of Sem. Languages*, xxiii, 178 f.; xxiv, 29, 209 ff. The two authors of the book of Daniel, like the Chronicler and his sources, certainly supposed the reign of Cyrus to have been immediately followed by that of Xerxes (Ezr. 4:5 ff., 24).

[2] It is useless to attempt to interpret 1:21 as meaning "Daniel continued even unto *the reign* of king Cyrus." The express mention of "*the first year*" is conclusive.

that Babylonia "showed them no mercy," and speaks of "the prey of the tyrant" (meaning the foreign King), and "the fury of the oppressor." These were themes to arouse any story-teller who had even a spark of imagination.[1] As for the details, the reasons for the persecution, and the manner of it, these were all mere matters of course. There is not a syllable, anywhere in the six chapters, that could reasonably suggest the time of Antiochus Epiphanes to the unbiased reader. On the contrary, the kings described are altogether unlike him. Nebuchadnezzar is a great and admirable monarch in the eyes of this narrator. He is a tyrant, of course, and deals like one, but in the end he humbly confesses the God of Israel. Belshazzar is represented as a weakling and a voluptuary—naturally, since he was the one who lost the kingdom to the Medes. He is introduced merely for the sake of the one great scene in which Daniel predicts the fall of the city and the coming of the Medes and Persians. As for Darius, he is pictured as a most admirable king, a friend of Daniel, and in fact blameless except for his single act of carelessness in signing the edict (6 : 7–9). He, too, confesses the God of Israel, and recommends him to his subjects. Nowhere in the six chapters is there any hint that the Jews in general are being persecuted, either because of their religion or for any other reason. What is more than all this, there is one passage in which the writer, in a *vaticinium ex eventu,* manifestly brings the history down to his own time; and the time is *not* that of Antiochus Epiphanes, but (to all appearance) considerably anterior to it.

It is immensely interesting to compare the two parallel visions, chaps. 2 and 7, in this regard. In both cases, the writer aims to put into the mouth of the prophet a plain prediction of the future course of history, in such a way that his hearers will recognize its truth. As in all such cases, the most important part of the vision is the last part, where the contemporary history is reached. Accordingly, in 7 : 8, 20, 24 f. the description becomes detailed as the writer reaches that crisis of events which seemed to him and all his contemporaries one of the most momentous in all history—as indeed it was—namely, the day when the religion of Israel clashed for the first time with the purpose of a great foreign power, and the Jewish church was compelled to fight for

[1] It is a mistake to suppose that such tales as these were produced only in times of severe persecution. The literary art of that day was not altogether unlike our own. The possibility of persecution was always present to the Jews, from the time when they first came under a foreign yoke. Even in a time of great prosperity (and perhaps especially at such a time) the imagination of a writer could create scenes of peril and of suffering for the Hebrew faith.

its life. He alludes to Antiochus Epiphanes, and to the desperate strait of the chosen people, in unmistakable terms; and in the subsequent chapters he keeps returning to this theme in a way that shows the supreme place of importance which it held in all his thought. But how different is the case in chap. 2! There, when the vision reaches its lower end, and the writer has occasion to present to his readers the most essential and striking characteristics of the power under whose rule they lived (vss. 40–43), the one interesting thing which he knows about the Greek empire is this, that it is not holding together, but because of its geographical division and the heterogeneous character of its parts it is on the way to complete disintegration, in spite of the great strength of one portion of it, and the attempt to preserve its coherence by means of marriage alliances (vs. 43)! It is perfectly plain that this writer had never even dreamed of such a time as that of the Maccabees. In his day, the Jewish people and the Seleucid ruler were only distantly interested in each other.

The conclusion follows, from all this concurring evidence, that *the book of Daniel consists of two entirely distinct parts, the work of different authors, one of whom lived in the Maccabean period, and the other some time earlier.* It is even possible to determine, within a very few years, the time when the earlier author lived and wrote. The important passage 2:43, of which mention has already been made, alludes to events (unquestionably, *recent* events) which had seemed to the narrator and his contemporaries to be of more than ordinary importance. The empire of Alexander was in the process of breaking up, but an attempt had been made to arrest the process by means of marriage alliances. Our author and his fellows had witnessed the failure of the attempt: "They shall mingle through the seed of men, but shall not cleave together, even as iron does not mingle with clay." The author of chaps. 7–12, also, in his remarkable summary of the Seleucid history, mentions, in passing, this same royal wedding from which much was hoped but little resulted. In 11:4 f., after speaking of the division of the Greek empire upon Alexander's death, and the might of certain of the rival kings, he proceeds in vs. 6: "And after certain years they shall be associated, and the daughter of the king of the South shall come to the king of the North, to make an alliance; but she shall not possess power, nor shall he stand, nor his power;[1] but she shall be given up," etc. This, as is well known, is an allusion to the marriage of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy II Philadelphus

[1] The Greek of Theodotion renders here זַרְעוֹ, "his seed," instead of זְרֹעוֹ "his arm."

of Egypt, to the Syrian king Antiochus II Theos, which took place in the year 248 B.C. The alliance, following the long war with Egypt, promised a new era of prosperity for Syria and Asia Minor; but the hope was vain, for a terrible tragedy was the almost immediate result. Laodice, the rejected first wife of Antiochus, poisoned the king in the following year, and murdered Berenice and her child, together with their retainers, a few months later. "The peace of Asia, so recently secured, suddenly vanished. The Seleucid power had ceased to be a unity" (Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i, 180 f.). This, expressed in the imagery of Dan. 2, was the falling to pieces of the *clay* in the feet of the great statue.[1] The later author, writing in chap. 7, at a time when Syria and Palestine were held fast by the Seleucids, while the Ptolemies were powerful rivals on even terms, could never have thought of the kingdoms of the Diadochi as a mixture of clay and iron. In *his* day, there were no obvious conditions that could have suggested such a comparison. But to one who lived and wrote soon after the ill-fated marriage alliance above mentioned, the figure would have described the situation exactly. Nor is there any other period, in the history of the Diadochi as it is known to us, when this would have been true in like degree. At that time, Asia Minor had been lost, and the provinces of the Euphrates and Tigris as well. After the sinister end of Antiochus II, his two sons were soon arrayed against each other, so that even this element of weakness was added to all the rest. In short, for nearly a whole generation the Seleucid power was reduced to a miserable remnant, in comparison with what it had once been, and with what it was very soon to become once more under Antiochus III the Great. And during just that time, as the most portentous fact of all, came the tremendous onslaught of the Egyptian forces, by land and by sea. Almost simultaneously with the murder of Berenice, her brother, Ptolemy III Euergetes, the greatest conqueror among the Ptolemies, appeared before Antioch; and during the greater part of his reign, which extended from 247 to 222 B.C., the dynasty of Seleucus seemed likely to lose even its last possession, Northern Syria. The shattering blows dealt by this Ptolemy, in repeated campaigns, continued to be felt long after his day, not only in Syria but also all the way from Cilicia to Iran. *He and his Egyptian armies were the 'iron' of the image described in Dan. 2, as the Seleucid power was the 'clay.'* "As the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken" (2 : 42). The use of these words in immediate connection with the mention of *the royal wedding* (vs. 43) makes the allusion as plain as day and places it quite beyond the reach of doubt. As for

[1] See also below, the note on 2 : 41.

the Jews, they were then under the Egyptian rule, and presumably favored the cause of Ptolemy Euergetes. The author of these popular tales of Daniel wrote during the reign of this king; at any later time, his comparison would have been pointless, for such a contrast of iron and clay was not seen again in the history of those lands. His book, then, the original "Book of Daniel," must be dated between 245 and 225 B.C.[1] This was simply a story-book, composed just as stories are composed in modern times, and published for the purpose of interesting and edifying the reading public, and the Jewish youth in particular, just as didactic tales are circulated at the present day. It included chaps. 1–6 of our book, in a form which probably differed but slightly from that which we have.

To this older collection of tales, the apocalyptist of the Maccabean time attached his "Visions of Daniel," chaps. 7–12, designed to encourage his compatriots in their desperate conflict with the Syrian king. He preserved the original story-book entire,[2] and we have the whole of

[1] This being the case, it may well be—and I myself believe it to be the fact—that the allusions to Daniel in Ezek. 14:14, 20, and 28:3 are based on this Aramaic story-book. I have for many years felt certain that the book of Ezekiel is a pseudepigraph, written in Judea in the latter part of the Greek period. Nearly all the evidence, external and internal (*all*, in fact, excepting the claim of the book itself), points to this conclusion. We have the best of reasons for believing that the fact of its very late origin continued to be a matter of tradition among the Jewish scholars until the first centuries A.D., namely their hesitation to admit it to the number of the sacred books. It is true that in still later times this hesitation was "explained" as due to the fact that "Ezekiel disagreed with the Pentateuch"; (!) but this is a characteristic obfuscation of the true state of things, just such a statement as we should expect to see made *after* the book had been admitted to the canon. If Ezekiel had disagreed seriously with the Pentateuch (which is not the case), any and every Jewish scholar who believed it to be really an ancient book—as old, say, as Haggai and Zechariah—would have clung to it and exalted it all the more because of its originality. When and where do the many discrepancies in the Old Testament cause the rabbinical mind any uneasiness? It took delight in just such things. The *only* thing that could possibly account for the temporary rejection of Ezekiel is the persistence of the tradition that it was written at a very late date. Judging from the manner of its allusions to the prophet Daniel, it cannot have been written much earlier than 200 B.C. It appears to be the work of a single hand. The statement is often made that it gives evidence of having been written in Babylonia; but this is not at all the case.

[2] I have not the least doubt that the "Additions to Daniel," namely the Song of the Three, the Story of Susanna, and the tale of Bel and the Dragon,

the addition which he made. It must not be supposed that he simply appended his apocalypses, without giving them any close internal connection with the older narrative. On the contrary, it was his purpose to make the new Book of Daniel appear a unity, and he wrought skilfully to this end. His first Vision, contained in chap. 7, is based conspicuously on the first dream of Nebuchadnezzar, narrated in chap. 2. The connection between the two has never failed to attract attention. So far as the essential content of the revelation is concerned, chap. 7 is simply chap. 2 brought down to date. Further evidence of this wish to make an impression of unity may be seen in the way in which the Visions are dated. The original narrative covered the reigns of the four kings, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius Hystaspis,[1] and Cyrus, all of whom received mention. The apocalyptic writer chooses dates from the reigns of three of these four in succession—and, as we have seen, commits a blunder in the case of the last one. Another, and still more obvious, point of attachment to the work of his predecessor is seen in the phrase: "Afterward I rose up, and *did the king's business*," in 8 : 27.

One very important feature of the composition of the book has thus far been left out of account, though it contains what is perhaps the strongest single argument for the correctness of the conclusions just stated; I mean, *the very singular alternation of the two languages, Hebrew and Aramaic.* No satisfactory explanation of this phenomenon has ever been given, nor could be given so long as it is assumed that the book is the work of a single hand. But when the fact of composition and the aim of the later writer, as above described, are recognized, the solution of the riddle of the two languages is at once manifest, to the very last detail. We have here a very natural and very effectual device for concealing the fact of dual authorship. What Kamphausen says (though with quite a different intent) in his article "Daniel" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1005, is eminently true: "The change of language serves to bind the different parts of the book into a firmer unity." The original story of Daniel was written *in Aramaic*, chap. 1 as well as chaps. 2–6. The Maccabean author wished to write his Visions *in Hebrew*, for reasons which are sufficiently obvious. If he had simply affixed his Hebrew composition to the Aramaic book—which so plainly came to its end in 6 : 29!—the two parts could never have had the appearance of a unity; nor could they have held together long, especially

were originally written in Aramaic or Hebrew, and that the Greek which we have is a translation. These formed no part of the original book, however, but were added to one of the early recensions. See further the note on 3 : 23.

[1] See the explanation given above.

since the Aramaic book had already been in circulation. He accordingly made a dove-tail joint which was both as simple, and as effective, as anything of the kind that can be found in all literature. He wrote *the first* of his Visions, chap. 7, *in Aramaic*; it is thus inseparable, on the one hand, from the preceding chapters, while on the other hand its contents and necessary connection with the following visions of the series render it quite inseparable from chaps. 8–12. But even this was not enough; the dove-tailing process had need of another step, in order to be absolutely finished. *He translated into Hebrew the introductory part of the older narrative.* By so doing he united the beginning of the book most securely to the later chapters which he himself had written, while on the other hand this introduction was indispensable to the stories which immediately followed it! This is all very well planned; but his skill appears to the best advantage in the way in which he effects the transition from Hebrew to Aramaic. Where could he finish with the one, and begin with the other, with the least detriment to the appearance of literary unity? His answer to this question is the best possible, and a very obvious one—now that we have it before us. He continues the Hebrew to the point where the "Chaldeans" begin their address to the king, in 2:4. From that point on, he leaves the Aramaic as he found it.[1]

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[1] We could not expect to find in the Hebrew of chap. 1 traces showing that it is translated from the Aramaic. The writer was at home in both languages, the narrative was of the simplest, and he was under no obligation to render closely. Nevertheless, I believe that slight traces of the process can really be seen. Aramaic idioms abound, of course, in all the Hebrew of Daniel, but there is no chapter, nor extended passage, in the book in which the Aramaisms are so heaped upon one another as in chap. 1. See, in support of this statement, the list of noteworthy words and constructions in the Hebrew of Daniel collected by Driver in his *Introduction*. Most noticeable of all, perhaps, is the barbarism אשר למה, in vs. 10. Regarded as an exact transfer of the common Aramaic דִּי לְמָה, "lest" (e. g. Ezra 7:23), it is at once fully explained. I do not believe that a writer who was composing in Hebrew *a simple, popular prose narrative* of this nature would ever have used this phrase. But the translators of that period often stuck ridiculously close to their originals, as we know. Another phrase which may be mentioned is in vs. 9: ויתן האלהים את דניאל לחסד ולרחמים לפני שר הסריסים; "And God gave Daniel favor and compassion before the prince of the eunuchs" (notice especially the use of the preposition ל). We know that this was a stock idiom in the Aramaic of the Persian period, for in the copy of the letter from Elephantine, published by Sachau (*Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden*, p. 7), line 2, we find words which exactly correspond to those in Daniel: ולרחמין

After the union had once been effected, in this manner, it was not at all easy to break it. Even if the attempt had been made to maintain the authority of the old Aramaic Daniel of our first six chapters, the claim could at once have been made on the other hand—and it would have been made successfully—that *the original Daniel* had twice that extent, as proved by its Hebrew beginning and by the Aramaic seventh chapter. And so in modern times, in spite of all the plain evidence of dual authorship in the book, scholars have felt compelled to maintain its unity simply because the alternation of the two languages defeats every ordinary attempt at analysis; and the idea that an ancient Hebrew redactor might have exercised some ingenuity has not been seriously considered. The composition of Daniel is very much like that of Zechariah. There, also, a series of striking pictures, connected with a Hebrew prophet and dealing more or less with prophetic visions, was taken as the basis to which to attach a series of predictions composed in the Greek period. In that instance, the addition of the later writing, effected by some editorial hand, was presumably more difficult, since the older book had been much longer in circulation. The composite character of Zechariah is now quite generally recognized; but the evidence of composition there is hardly stronger than in the case of Daniel, and is certainly not as many-sided.

The Aramaic of the book of Daniel is the Palestinian dialect of the second and third centuries B.C. The discovery of the Jewish Aramaic papyri of Assuan and Elephantine has at last enabled us to declare with certainty what hitherto had only seemed probable. The language of the Aramaic passages in Ezra, which were all composed in the third century, is identical with that of Daniel. For a more extended statement of some of the peculiarities of the dialect at this stage of its development, I would refer to my article in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, April, 1908, pp. 232–237; reprinted in my forthcoming *Ezra Studies*, pp. 161–166.

The text of our massoretic recension of Daniel has suffered considerably from carelessness in transmission. In a large number of places, some of which will be noticed below, words or phrases necessary to the sense have been dropped out by accident, so that it is certain that the book passed through the hand of at least one copyist who transcribed hastily and without collating his copy after it was made. On the

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ישימנך [אלהא] קדם דריוהוש מלכא; "And may God give thee compassion before Darius the king." The idiom is also found (though rarely) in Hebrew however, and it can therefore not be allowed much weight.

other hand, the massoretic *pointing* of the Aramaic text is of the greatest value. The more carefully it is studied, the more certain becomes the conclusion that it has preserved with great fidelity an old and generally trustworthy tradition. At the time when the vocalization was fixed, it was not only the case that Aramaic of this same general type was the native tongue of the men who did this editorial work, but it was also true that many forms and modes of pronunciation which had passed out of ordinary use were still perfectly well understood by these Jewish scholars. Illustration of this will appear in the sequel. It must also be borne in mind—and the fact is generally not appreciated—that in the many cases of disagreement between *qerē* and *ketīb* the massoretes are generally not *correcting* the consonant text, but simply preserving a parallel reading. They neither misunderstood the forms which they have given us in the *ketīb*, nor disapproved of them; they merely wished, in each case of the kind, to record also another tradition which seemed to them worthy of preservation, and this was the only way in which they could do so. I do not see how it can be doubted that in all such instances as שְׁלָהּ, 3 : 29; אָחֳרִין, 4 : 5; רְבִית, 4 : 19; מְטִית, 4 : 21; those who first introduced the variant pronunciation understood perfectly the meaning of the *ketīb* (see the notes, below, on the passages cited). I also believe that in all of *the cases just named* we may take it for granted that they regarded the consonant text as giving the better reading; that is, *if they had been obliged to choose between the two readings*, rejecting absolutely the one or the other, they would have adopted the *ketīb*.

Our Aramaic text is of an old and excellent type. It is better than that which lay before Theodotion, though the difference is not great, and is far superior to that which was rendered by the old Greek translator. The date of this last-named version [1] was not far from the middle of the second century B.C. (*Ezra Studies*, pp. 82–85). The text which we have, preserved in the single cursive and the Syro-Hexaplar version, follows in chaps. 1–3 and 7 a recension which differs only slightly from that of the massoretes; in chaps. 4–6, on the other hand, it embodies a widely different and much inferior recension; see the note on 4 : 12, the footnote at the end.

The following scattered notes may help to determine the original text in some places, and will perhaps be found to throw some light on certain notoriously difficult passages.

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[1] Of the first six chapters only, in its original form? There are several questions here which call for further investigation.

2 : 4 נחוא. It is preposterous to "emend" this to the *hafel,* as Marti does in both grammar and commentary. The *pael* is the usual stem in Syriac, and there is no reason why the Jews should not have used both forms, as in so many other verbs. We know very little about the Palestinian Aramaic of this period, and here is a precious opportunity to learn something. It is a somewhat similar case when the *hafel* of הלך, found in 3 : 25 and 4 : 34, is altered (simply on the basis of our ignorance) to the *pael,* by Marti, Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica,* and others. These instances are typical of a mode of procedure which is unfortunately very wide spread at present.

2 : 5, 8 אזדא. This is an *adjective* with the feminine absolute ending, and it has the meaning "*sure.*" So much is made certain by the comparison of these two passages with the Strassburg Aramaic papyrus, published by Euting in the *Mémoires présentés . . . . à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres,* Paris, 1903, and since then discussed by numerous other scholars. The word was given this meaning by Kern, in the ZDMG, vol. xxiii (1869), p. 220, but he supposed it to be the simple transfer of the Persian *azdā,* and the א־ to be the Persian ending. This is the view which has been held by the most of those who accept the theory of foreign origin. Recently, another explanation of the word has been given. Andreas, in the Glossary of Marti's *Grammatik der biblisch-aramäischen Sprache* (1896), interprets it as the Persian *noun,* with the meaning "Kunde, Nachricht"—although this results in mere nonsense in both of the passages in Daniel.

In the Jewish papyrus from Elephantine which is now in Strassburg the same word occurs, by good fortune, in the form אזד, without the final *ā.* The phrase in which it occurs is this (col. ii, lines 3–5): הן אזד יתעבד מן דיניא . . . . יתידע למרן לקבל זנה זי אנחנה אמרן "If it [the matter just stated] shall be *certified* by the judges, ... then our lord will know that it was just as we have said." In this case also, Andreas holds to his interpretation of the word as a noun (*Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik,* ii, 214, note 2), and Lidzbarski, who accepts his guidance, renders thus: "Wenn zuverlässige Nachricht seitens der Richter . . . . gegeben wird, dann wird sie (die Nachricht) sich unserm Herrn als übereinstimmend mit dem herausstellen, was wir gesagt haben" (*ibid.,* pp. 216 f.). But the comparison of the passages in Daniel makes it certain, on the contrary, that we have here also *a predicate adjective.* It is an adjective, not a noun, that the sense demands: "If it shall be made *sure*;"[1] and since in this case the

[1] With a noun meaning "Nachricht, Kunde," etc. the verb יתעבד would not have been used.

gender required is masculine (not feminine, as in Dan.: מלתא מני אזדא [1]), the word is written without the feminine ending.

Whatever the prevailing use of the word may have been in the original Persian, we have now conclusive evidence that in the Jewish Aramaic of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries B.C. it was used *as an adjective* with the meaning "sure"; and that it was inflected like any native word, the absol. masc. sing. being אזד (pronounced אַזַד, or אָזַד?) and the absol. fem. sing. אַזְדָּא. How extensively, or for how long a time, the word was used, we have not the means of knowing. It was quite obsolete, certainly, at the time when that massoretic tradition arose which pointed it as a participle, אָזְדָא, in the Daniel passages. In all probability, the verb אזד (= אזל) which occurs a few times in late Jewish Aramaic (see Levy, *s. v.*) and at least once in Syriac (Payne Smith, col. 105) had its sole origin in this newly created participle in Daniel.

2 : 5 הדמין תתעבדון. Compare μέλη ποιήσαντες, ii Macc. 1 : 16. I have no longer any doubt that the two letters prefixed to ii Macc. are genuine letters sent from Jews in Jerusalem to their brethren in Egypt (see my defence of their authenticity in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* xx (1900), 240 ff.); and it seems to me now probable that the original language of both letters was Aramaic rather than Hebrew, in view of such words and idioms as וּכְעֶנֶת, καὶ νῦν, 1 : 6; לפום פרנא, εἰς φερνῆς λόγον, 1 : 14; הדמין עבדו, μέλη ποιήσαντες, 1 : 16. So also the copyist's error in the original of 1 : 10, יהודא for יהודיא, whence καὶ Ἰούδας instead of τῶν Ἰουδαίων, would have been easier in Aramaic than in Hebrew.[2] The character of the legends contained in these two letters, ii Macc. 1 : 1–9 and 1 : 10–2 : 18, which were composed in Aramaic *and sent* (officially) *from "the Jews of Jerusalem and Judea" to the Jewish church in Egypt* suggests that the stories of Daniel were probably taken more seriously among those who first heard and read them, than we might be inclined to suppose.

2 : 6 לָהֵן. This word has remained a puzzle. Scholars have generally agreed that it must be distinguished from the compound of לָא and הֵן, corresponding to the Hebrew אִם לֹא and having the same series

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[1] Observe that in vs. 8, where the phrase is repeated, the adjective is put first for the sake of added emphasis.

[2] My identification (*ibid.* pp. 231 f.) of the "Antiochus" of 1 : 13–16 with Antiochus VII Sidetes receives strong additional support, as I believe, from *Megillath Taanith*, xi, end (see Dalman's comment, *Aramäische Dialektproben*, p. 34). The day when Antiochus Sidetes withdrew from Jerusalem (134 B.C.) *was celebrated as a feast day for at least two centuries.*

of meanings: "unless, except, but, only, however"; the word which occurs, for example, in Dan. 2:11, 30, 6:6, 8, Ezr. 5:12, and very frequently elsewhere. There are a few passages in which the hypothesis of *this* compound has seemed to serve with difficulty, if at all. The most important of these is line 10 of the Aramaic inscription from Teima (CIS. ii, 113; Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigraphik,* p. 447; Cooke, *North Sem. Inscriptions,* p. 195). The first part of the inscription tells how Ṣalmšezeb, the priest, honored the gods of Teima. The text then proceeds: "*Therefore* (לָהֵן) the gods of Teima made a grant to Ṣalmšezeb and to his seed," etc. A similar meaning of the same word, vocalized לָהֵן, seems to be called for in Ruth 1:13 (twice), this time in a *Hebrew* text: "Even if I should bear sons, could ye *therefore* wait till they were grown? could ye *therefore* refrain from having husbands?" The rendering might be weakened to "then" (German "also"), but it is at least plain that no use of the Hebrew אִם לֹא would do here. And finally, there are three passages in Daniel, namely 2:6, 9, and 4:24, in which אִם לֹא in any of its recognized meanings would be out of place, and the natural translation of לָהֵן is "therefore."

Those who understand the word thus have explained its origin in various ways. Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch*[12]: "Zusammengesetzt aus לְ und הֵן" (highly useful information!). Stade, *Grammatik,* p. 210, regarded it as compounded of the preposition and the suffix pronoun of the fem. third plural. Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.,* s. v. הֵן, supposes the second part of the compound to be the interjection "behold." Similarly Marti, *Grammatik,* § 96[d]: "eine Verstärkung von הֵן in der ursprünglichen Bedeutung von *siehe.*" Cooke, *North Sem. Inscriptions,* p. 197, has: "הֵן *if* + ל, *then, therefore,*" but omits to explain how this remarkable development of meaning could have taken place. Kautzsch, *Grammatik,* Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Lexicon,* Bevan, *Comm.,* and most others, venture no explanation.

Marti quite overlooks the fact that his theory of the word fails to account for its vocalization. "Eine Verstärkung von הֵן" could not possibly produce (in Aramaic!) לָהֵן, but only לְהֵן. Nor is the combination of the preposition with the interjection at all probable on general grounds. I believe that the vowel-pointing in the Biblical passages represents the actual pronunciation; that the word לָהֵן "therefore" in Hebrew is a borrowing from the Aramaic, and not *vice versa*; and that the word in *all* cases, whether meaning "except" or "therefore," originated in the same combination of the negative לָא and the conditional particle הֵן. That is, I believe that the use of this compound

covered more shades of meaning in western Aramaic than elsewhere, extending through the whole series: "unless, except, but, only, however, then, accordingly, therefore." By supposing this looseness of usage it is possible to account for all the facts connected with the history of the word. The difficulty of the supposition is very much lessened by the fact that in western Aramaic the form of the word has concealed its origin, making the case quite unlike that of Heb. אם לא and Syr. אֶלָּא, in both of which the compound is obvious and the range of meaning necessarily restricted.

2 : 7 ופשׁרָה. This might, of course, be pointed ־ֵהּ, as in most of the ancient versions. But the preference should always be given to the massoretic tradition in such cases, because of what we know of its relative excellence in the Aramaic of Daniel. As for the occasional writing of final *ā* with ה instead of א, that is one of the many interesting characteristics of this period in the history of the written language. Thus even לָה for לָא, for example, in 4 : 32.

2 : 8 כָּל קֵבֵל. It is the universal custom, in grammars, dictionaries, and commentaries, to speak of this as a division of the word "mistakenly" made by the massoretes. It is true that the original was כְּ + לָקֵבֵל, as has been (or might have been) known ever since Luzzatto's grammar (1865); but the shifting of the vowel was a most natural phonetic change, and we have no reason to doubt that it was actually made in the popular speech. As for the custom of dividing the word in writing, those who object to it must refuse to allow בשֶׁל אשׁר, Eccles. 8 : 17, the Arabic مِلْ أشياء, etc., and a hundred similar cases in various living languages.

2 : 8, 9. The interpreters, ancient and modern, have failed to see that the massoretes have made the verse-division in the wrong place. The last word in vs. 8 should be דתכון, which now stands at the end of the first clause in vs. 9. The whole sentence from כל קבל to דתכון is parenthetical. The translation: "The king answered and said, I know of a certainty that ye would gain time—since ye see that the word from me is sure, (namely) that if ye do not tell me the dream, one fate is for you all;—and ye have planned to speak lying and corrupt words before me till the time be changed."

2 : 10 יוּכַל. This form and תּוּכַל, 5 : 16 *ketīb*, are very likely Hebraisms; but this is by no means certain, even in view of יִכֻּל, 3 : 29, etc. In any case, by what right is the text "emended" here (as in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*)? Is it inconceivable—or even unlikely—that the popular speech of that time should inconsistently have mixed Hebraisms with pure Aramaic forms? It is better to interpret the text which

we have than to rewrite it according to our ideas of good Aramaic usage.

2 : 16 ופשרא להחויה למלכא. There is a characteristic gerundial construction of the infinitive preceded by *waw*, which is frequent in the Palestinian dialect (both Aramaic and the later Hebrew) and is sometimes misunderstood by modern interpreters. It may be rendered by the passive voice, or by supplying some such phrase as "*it was intended*." This verse reads: "Daniel entered and asked of the king that he would grant him time, and the interpretation *would be shown* to the king." Marti, Grammar, *in loc.* (but not in his commentary) says: "Wahrscheinlich ist hier חַלְמָא ausgefallen," namely, just before the word ופשרא. But the text is right as it stands. A similar case is 1 : 5, ולגדלם. The passage reads: "And the king appointed them a portion for each day, from the dainties of the king and from the wine which he drank; and *they were to be educated* for three years, at the end of which time they should stand before the king." Here Marti, *Comm.*, Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, and others, propose to transfer this infinitive, together with all of that part of vs. 5 which follows it, to the end of vs. 4! This is merely one variety of the idiom described in Nöldeke, *Syrische Gramm.*[2], p. 216, below; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Gramm.*, § 114, h, k, etc.

2 : 17 מִישָׁאֵל. If I am not mistaken, this name, which occurs several times in the later parts of the Old Testament, was originally מישע-אל, "Help of God." Similarly, I believe that the name Samuel, שְׁמוּאֵל, is in its origin a contraction of שמוע-אל, "Heard of God," cf. ישמעאל etc. If this is true, these names furnish early examples of that occasional suppression of the guttural ע which is so noticeable in the later dialects, especially in Aramaic. I hope to discuss this subject at some length elsewhere.

2 : 24. Of the two verbs, על and אול, given in this verse by MT, one is manifestly superfluous. The former was not in the text rendered by Theodotion; the latter has no equivalent in the old Greek version.[1] Evidently the preposition על was dittographed by mistake. The original had אול only.

2 : 29 רעיוניך סלקו, "Thy thoughts *arose*." This Palestinian idiom (cf. Isaiah 65 : 17 and the citation in 1 Cor. 2 : 9), which is both Hebrew and Aramaic, plainly underlies the Greek of Luke 24 : 38 and Acts 7 : 23.

2 : 31. It is obvious that the word שַׂגִּיא is impossible where it stands. It does not mean "great" (in size),[2] and even if it did, it could not

[1] Marti, *Gramm.*, and Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*, are mistaken in supposing that the old Greek did not render על.

[2] In 2 : 6 and 4 : 7, the two other passages which are cited in Brown-Driver-Briggs in support of this meaning, the correct translation is "exceeding," and the word is an exact synonym of יַתִּיר.

thus stand side by side with the unqualified רב which immediately follows. We have here the result of a copyist's error, which was caused by the twofold mention of the image, coupled with the resemblance of the two words רב and חד. The original text was certainly: ואלו צלם חד, צלמא דכן רב שגיא וזיוה יתיר, קאם לקבלך שגיא the adverbial following the word רב. This seems to be what actually stood before the old Greek translator: καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰκὼν μία, καὶ ἦν ἡ εἰκὼν ἐκείνη μεγάλη σφόδρα, καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτῆς (reading רַוָה for זִוָה) ὑπερφερὴς ἑστήκει ἐναντίον σου. "Thou, O king, didst behold, and lo, an image—that image was very great, and its splendor exceeding—standing before thee, and its appearance was terrible."

2 : 33 מנהון (twice), also vss. 41 (twice) and 42 (twice). It is better to follow the consonant text and write מנהון in all these cases, since the evidence is so abundant that *in the popular speech,* both in Aramaic and in Hebrew, the personal pronoun of the third person plural was epicene.

2 : 38. The English version reads: "And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee to rule over them all. Thou art the head of gold." This would be a glorious kingdom, certainly, but not glorious enough for this context. Nor has any plausible explanation of the verse ever been given. The trouble lies in the misunderstanding of the idiom בכל די דארין, which is merely a translation of the Greek ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. The word דארין illustrates *the use of the indefinite third person plural in place of the passive voice,* which is so characteristic of the Aramaic of this time; cf. יהודעון in vs. 30, the participle מצבעין in 4 : 22, and many other passages. "In all which *they* inhabit" is the current way of saying "In every (place) which *is inhabited.*" At the time when the story of Daniel was written, this phrase must have been in such common use that no one would have made the mistake of connecting בני אנשא with the preceding rather than with the following words. The passage should be rendered: "And in all the world (or, more literally, 'the inhabited world') he hath given into thine hand the sons of men, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the heaven, and hath made thee to rule over them all."

2 : 40. This verse has caused much unnecessary difficulty, chiefly because of the massoretic accentuation (that miserable substitute for punctuation, as modern scholars try to use it). The verse should read: ומלכו רביעיא תהוא תקיפה כפרזלא, כל קבל די פרזלא מהדק וחשל כלא; וכפרזלא די מרעע, כל אלין תדק יתרע. "And a fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron, inasmuch as iron breaketh and crusheth all

things; and like the iron (implement) which shattereth, it shall break and shatter all these." כל אלין refers of course to the other kingdoms. This is the text which lay before the old Greek translator (though he seems to have made the last word, ותרע, contain some form of ארע, "earth"). The text rendered by Theodotion (followed by Marti, *Comm.*, Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*) and the Vulgate is later and inferior.

2:41 חסף טינא. The second word of this compound describes the *kind* of "clay," of which there were doubtless several well known varieties. As I have shown in the introduction, the author represented by the "iron" of the toes the victorious power of Egypt, which under Ptolemy III Euergetes was showing some of the portentous strength (מן נצבתא) of Alexander's own kingdom, and was just then shattering and crushing what seemed to be the last remnants of the Seleucid "clay," in Northern Syria. In all probability, the word טינא was intended to designate an *inferior*, "miry" sort of clay, and the writer thus expressed his low opinion of the weak and crumbling West-Asiatic kingdom, whose utter annihilation he may well have expected to see. So the old Greek translator, whose interpretation is always likely to be valuable because of its age, renders ἅμα τῷ πηλίνῳ ὀστράκῳ.[1]

2:42, 43. As has already been remarked, the style of this writer is somewhat repetitious. In these verses 41–43, however, the reason for the reiteration is very obvious. Every detail here must be given extraordinary emphasis, for this is the all-important point where the prediction reaches events of the writer's own day (cf. the corresponding verses, 23–25, in chap. 7).[2]

2:45. Here, again, the massoretes have divided the verses incorrectly. All the first part of "vs. 45," as far as ודהבא, belongs to vs. 44. The rest, from אלה on, ought to have been set apart as distinctly as possible.

2:48 מדינת בבל, "the *province* of Babylonia." It is an interesting question, at what time the prevailing use of the word מדינה passed over from the signification of "province, district" to that of "city." In the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra, and also in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, including Esther, Koheleth, and Dan. 8–12, the word seems to mean

[1] Theodotion (or, more probably, the man who had edited the text which Theodotion rendered) did not understand the phrase, and left out the word טינא. Hence De Goeje, Marti, Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, and others, would omit the word, both here and in vs. 43. (They do not seem to have noticed that they would then further be obliged to change בחסף to בחספא, in both verses.)

[2] According to Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, vss. 42 and 43 are "probably a later addition"!

uniformly "province." On the other hand, the old Greek translation of Dan. 11 : 24 renders it by πόλις; and this version, as I have shown elsewhere,[1] was made not long after the middle of the second century B.C. By the second century A.D., the meaning "city" was the usual one, in Jewish Aramaic as well as in the northern (Syriac) dialect. Thus we have מדינת כלכים in the *Megillath Taanith*; and the translator Symmachus even corrects the χώρα of the older Greek versions of the Old Testament to πόλις, in i Kings 20 : 14, Dan. 8 : 2, and (presumably) the conflate Hexaplar text of Neh. 1 : 3, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐν τῇ πόλει.[2] It must be borne in mind that πόλις is a flat mistranslation in these cases, especially noticeable in Dan. 8 : 2, "In the city (!) Elam," showing that the signification "province," for מדינה, was then nearly or quite obsolete. Hence also, probably, the corruption of the text of Ezra 6 : 2 (apparently omitting די במדי) which lay before Theodotion. But the most important mistranslation of this sort, marking the vanishing use of מדינה = "province," is found in the New Testament Gospels, in Luke 1 : 39. The Greek reads: ἀναστᾶσα δὲ Μαριὰμ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν μετὰ σπουδῆς *εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα*, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ζαχαρίου, κ.τ.ἑ. "And Mary arose in those days and went into the hill country with haste, *to the city* (?) *of Judah* (?); and entered into the house of Zachariah," etc. This cannot be "to *a* city of Judah," which would be εἰς πόλιν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, cf. vs. 26. The only permissible rendering is "to the city (named) Judah;" but this will not do, for there was no city which could be referred to in this way. Nor has any commentator been able to suggest a plausible explanation of this phrase. But when we compare vs. 65, ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ὀρεινῇ τῆς Ἰουδαίας; 2 : 4, ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἰωσὴφ . . . . ἐκ πόλεως Ναζαρὲθ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, etc., it is obvious that the Greek of 1 : 39 contains another mistranslation of the obsolescent מדינה = "province." What the evangelist wrote was either (Hebrew) אֶל מְדִינַת יְהוּדָה, or else (Aramaic) לִיהוּד מְדִינְתָּא; and the translation should have been: εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, "*to the province of Judea.*" Cf. the occurrences of this phrase in Ezra 5 : 8, Neh. 1 : 3, 11 : 3, and in ii Macc. 1 : 1, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. This is absolutely certain proof that the first two chapters of Luke were originally written in a Semitic language, and it is the only sure proof which has thus far been rendered.

2 : 48 "And he gave him authority over all the province of Babylonia, and [*appointed him*] chief prefect over all the wise men of

[1] See above, at the end of the introduction; also *Ezra Studies*, pp. 82–85.

[2] See the *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, vol. ii, pp. 104 f.

Babylon." The text may be right as it stands, though the zeugma is an awkward one. Perhaps, however, some such word as עָמַהּ has accidentally fallen out after רב סגנין. The old Greek ἀπέδειξεν αὐτόν may be allowed a little weight, since the translator was not obliged to insert another verb here (cf Theodotion).

3 : 2. The word תיפתיא, as an official title, has now been found in the Egyptian papyri.

3 : 2, 3. The threefold repetition of the phrase, "which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up," within the compass of two verses, is intolerable; and it may be doubted whether even this writer, with all his fondness for repeating himself, should bear the whole blame. It is not likely that he himself wrote the phrase *both* times in vs. 3; and when it is observed how in its first occurrence there it immediately follows the words לחנכת צלמא, exactly as in vs. 2, the conjecture becomes very probable that in this case its presence is due to an ordinary scribal error. The ancient versions give no help, for they all render a text identical with MT in these verses.[1]

3 : 4 כָּרוֹזָא. It has often been asserted, most recently by Marti, *Comm.*, that "the root כרז" is found in an Aramaic inscription of the pre-Grecian time. The inscription in question is CIS. ii, 86. It is a seal, the provenience of which is unknown, dating from the fifth or sixth century, or even earlier. It reads: לכרזי, i. e., "(the seal) of KRZI." This is the proper name of the owner, presumably a non-Semitic name; there is no likelihood at all that the idea of "heralding" was ever contained in it.

3 : 5 קָתְרוֹס. This vowel-pointing, *qathros* for Greek κίθαρις, is precisely as valuable as that of אֲפֹתֹם, *appethos*, for ἐπίθεσις, in Ezr. 4 : 13. See the *Am. Journ. of Sem. Languages*, xxiv (1908), p. 247; *Ezra Studies*, p. 175.

3 : 13 הֵיתָיו. So also 6 : 18, הֵיתַית. "Emending" such forms as these (as most of our commentators and editors do) is like melting down unique and priceless ancient coins in order to make modern jewelry.

3 : 14 הַצְדָּא. The ה is the interrogative particle, and it is prefixed to a noun in the adverbial accusative, namely the infinitive of the verb יצד. The phrase means "*Is it true?*" and Theodotion's εἰ ἀληθῶς is an exact rendering.

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[1] Marti, *Gramm.*, asserts that Theodotion omits the phrase at the end of vs. 2; and in the apparatus of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* we are told that he omitted it at the end of vs. 4. But both statements are mistaken. Whoever leans on Codex B leans on a broken reed.

The root יצד is found elsewhere only in Arabic, in the verb وَصَدَ, imperf. يَصِدُ. This is said by the native lexicographers to be a synonym of ثبت "to be sure, firmly established."[1] The verbal noun צַדָּה is the customary old form, like עֵטָא (2 : 14) from יעט, חֵמָא* (חֲמָא, 3 : 19; נַחֲמָא, 3 : 13) from יחם, שֵׁנָה* (שִׁנְתֵּהּ, 6 : 19) from ישן, etc.[2] The shortening of the initial vowel is a well known practice, both in Aramaic (notice the forms of חמא above; one in the verse immediately preceding!) and in Hebrew (מֵרְדָה in Gen. 46 : 3). And, following the usual tendency, הַצְדָּא was pronounced הַצַדָּא. The massoretic pointing is, as usual, based on a genuine old tradition. Everything about the word is perfectly regular, and both form and meaning suit the context exactly. Nor is any other treatment of the word possible, while the text is left unaltered.

3 : 16. I have no doubt that in the original text of this verse the words מלכא and נבוכדנצר were transposed. "They answered and said *to Nebuchadnezzar, O king*, we have no need to answer thee in this matter" (cf. vs. 9, etc.). They would not have been represented as addressing the king by his name.

3 : 16 חַשְׁחִין. The pointing of this word with short *ă* in the first syllable does not mean at all that it was regarded "as an adjective" (Marti); it is simply an instance of the (later) popular *pronunciation* of certain words and forms which originally contained the vowel *ā*. The massoretic tradition has given us, sporadically and quite inconsistently, a good many examples of this sort. Such are הוַת, Dan. 2 : 25, Ezr. 4 : 24, 5 : 5; מחַת, Dan. 2 : 34 f.; מטַת, Dan. 4 : 19; ענַת, Dan. 5 : 10;

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[1] We know only a small part of the vocabulary of the Aramaic speech, and we are very far from being acquainted with all the roots which were in common use in the other North-Semitic languages. I have shown, for instance (*OT. and Sem. Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, ii, 79, note; *Ezra Studies*, p. 85), how the old Greek version of Dan. 2 : 5, 3 : 29 and of Ezr. 6 : 11, bears sure testimony to the existence of a Syro-Palestinian verb נול, "take, obtain"; a root which (aside from the last line of the Tabnit inscription, where it has remained unrecognized) is known elsewhere *only in Arabic*.

[2] The use of this class of verbal nouns was already vanishing from the Aramaic speech. See Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 111, and notes 3 and 4. "Nur das Bibl. Aram. gebraucht die in ihm vorkommenden Bildungen dieser Art ganz nach der ursprünglichen Weise."

[3] The word רבַת. Dan. 4 : 19 *(qerē)*, is *not* an example of the kind: see the note there.

חֲבַל, Dan. 3 : 25 ; עֲקַר, Dan. 4 : 12 ; שַׁעֲתָא, several times in Dan. ; יַקַר, Dan. 4 : 33 ; כְּתַב, Ezr. 7 : 22 ; יְהַךְ, Ezr. 6 : 5 ; מְהַךְ (some texts), Ezr. 7 : 13 ; אֲרַע, Ezr. 4 : 23 ; שְׁלַטָן, Dan. 4 : 31 ; שְׁנָא, Dan. 7 : 19 ; and finally חַשְׁחָן, Ezr. 6 : 9 ; these (and some others less well supported) were pronounced with *ă*, instead of the usual pointing with ָ. At the time when these texts were written, all the words above mentioned were probably pronounced with the long vowel. At the time when the vocalization was fixed, however, the use of the short vowel was becoming customary, at least in some localities ; and as a witness to this important fact it is well to keep in our standard texts the best-attested examples of the kind.

Observe especially that this same participle, חַשְׁחִין, with the short vowel, occurs in Ezr. 6 : 9 in the fem. third plural, in the phrase וּמָה חַשְׁחָן, "And whatever things are needful" (see my forthcoming *Ezra Studies*, p. 194).

3 : 16 פִּתְגָם. I have already, in editing and annotating the Aramaic text of Ezra, expressed the opinion that this word is most probably the Greek φθέγμα. The fact that in Greek it is used chiefly in poetry and high style is not a weighty argument against the derivation, since it is notoriously the fact that word-borrowing often proceeds in unexpected ways. In both Western and Eastern Aramaic פִּתְגָם always means simply "*word*" (or "thing," etc., like דְּבַר) ; never "message," nor "answer," nor "command," as is so often said.

3 : 17 הֵן אִתַי. The word הֵן cannot be rendered "Behold" (Vulgate ; Ewald ; margin of English Revised Version) ; nor, on the other hand, is it correct to translate : "If our God, whom we serve, is able," etc., as is done by nearly all modern interpreters. הֵן אִתַי is used here exactly like וַיֵּשׁ in ii Kings 10 : 15 (with which cf. וְלָא in 5 : 17). That is, it contains within itself the whole protasis ; what follows is the conclusion. "*If it be so* (i. e., if the sentence of the king is executed), our God, whom we serve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace ; and he will deliver us from thine hand, O king. But even if he shall not do so, be it known to thee, O king," etc. If we possessed an Aramaic text punctuated with reference to the logical division of sentences,[1] it would

[1] It is a pity that the help which we find indispensable in our Greek and Latin Bibles (as in all other modern editions of ancient classical texts) should be denied us in our Hebrew Bible, where it is at least equally necessary ; while the obsolete and intolerably burdensome *accentuation*—which never was a system of "Punctuation" in our sense of the term, and if thus used is almost always misleading, the only question being how great the degree in each case—is still retained even in our latest editions. A Hebrew Bible

read in some such way as this: הן אתי אלהנא די אנחנא פלחין יכל לשיזבותנא מן אתון נורא יקדתא ומן ידך מלכא ישיזב.

3:23. In the apparatus of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, the attempt is made to show that the long version of the chapter, containing at this point the Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Men, is the original, and our massoretic recension an abridgment. In the two Greek versions, vs. 91 = Aramaic vs. 24, the king is said to have been "astonished" *when he heard the men singing their hymn*. Accordingly, in a note on תְּוָה in vs. 24, the *Bibl. Hebr.* asks: "*cur N. turbatus?*" Does this question mean to imply that Nebuchadnezzar was accustomed to see men walking about in his burning fiery furnace, and that only their singing could surprise him?[1] And again, the note (*ibid.*) on vs. 23 suggests that it is a later addition, made "in order to fill the gap between vss. 22 and 24;" i. e., the gap which resulted from the supposed *excision* of the long passage. But the answer to this suggestion is as conclusive as it is obvious, namely, that this very same vs. 23 is also found in the text of Theodotion![2] Moreover, there is no discrepancy nor incongruity in these verses, 21–25, as they stand in our massoretic recension. The narrative here is both natural and effective, and I see no reason for doubting that its author originally wrote it in just this way. He certainly seems—judging from the manner of his other work—to have been far too good a narrator to spoil his story at this point by inserting this intolerable and interminable episode.

3:24 עָנִין וְאָמְרִין. The former of these two participles has been quite generally challenged, in recent years. Nöldeke, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*,

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edited and printed as though it were literature, and not a mere archæological *curiosum*, would be a great blessing.

[1] As for the testimony of the Greek itself, it is perfectly evident in the older recension that the episode of the prayer and the hymn has been inserted as a secondary element. Vs. 91 begins as follows: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἑστὼς ἐθεώρει αὐτοὺς ζῶντας· τότε Ναβουχοδονοσὸρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐθαύμασε, καὶ ἀνέστη σπεύσας καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. ἑ., the word τότε beginning an exact rendering of *our* Aramaic vs. 24. Here, beyond question, we have the original juncture, with its ill-fitting edges. The insertion was made in an Aramaic text, and the interpolator, as usual, preferred not to alter the original, but simply put his own clause beside the other, in this verse. The Greek is a faithful translation. The Aramaic recension which lay before Theodotion, on the other hand, had been smoothed into shape.

[2] It may be remarked here, in passing, that in the Aramaic text of vs. 22 which was translated by Theodotion, the whole second half of the verse had fallen out by an accident of transcription, the cause of the error being the twofold occurrence of the words גבריא אלך.

1884, pp. 1021 f., observing that in the book of Daniel "*he* answered and said" is pointed everywhere עָנֵה וְאָמַר, while "*they* answered and said" is (except in this one passage, 3 : 24) ענו ואמרין, drew the conclusion that in *all* cases, whether the subject be singular or plural, the correct form of the phrase is the perfect tense followed by the participle. This was reiterated by Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, p. 192; and accordingly Marti, *Gramm.*, and *Comm.* on 2 : 5, Strack, *Gramm.* § 13 g, and others, change ענין to ענו here, and עָנֵה to עָנֶה wherever the phrase occurs. As Wellhausen (*l. c.*) states the case: "Aus *anō vāmrīn* im Daniel folgt, dass auch im Singular *anā vāmar* zu sprechen ist." But the question is hardly to be settled so easily; these are things which are determined by the custom of living speech, not by any rule of uniformity. The use of the participle of the verb אמר in narrative is customary, in Syriac as well as in Biblical Aramaic.[1] It was most natural, then, that in that extremely common phrase, "*he* answered and said," the use of the participle of ענה should also have become customary, at some time and place, by virtue of a very common kind of *phonetic attraction*. That this actually did take place in Biblical Aramaic is attested not merely by the uniform tradition of the vowel-pointing (eighteen passages), but also by *the consonant text* in this verse. The reason why the plural participle ענין is used here and not elsewhere is plainly this: over against "*he* answered and said" is placed almost immediately, with only a few words intervening, "*they* answered and said;" and the form of the phrase was naturally kept unchanged in its second occurrence. We know, that is, that the double participle was used here in *both* cases. Ordinarily, as we can see, the participle of ענה was *not* used in the plural, in narrating; it was introduced this time merely for a rhetorical reason.[2]

It should be added, in this connection, that the participle is used

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[1] It is by no means universal, however. Thus, in Dan. 5 : 10, "The queen answered and said" is ענת מלכתא ואמרת. And in the Assuan papyri various forms of the perfect tense are used.

[2] The ease with which this purely rhetorical attraction could be brought to pass is illustrated in just the other direction, if I am not mistaken, in Syriac. Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*[2], § 274, after remarking that the *participle* of ܐܬܐ is the form commonly used in narrative, adds: "Danach wird auch das im NT. häufige ܗܘܐ ܐܬܐ eigentlich ܗܘܐ ܐܬܐ gewesen sein." On the contrary, this is a similar example of attraction of the grammatical form; occurring this time also *only in the third person singular masculine*, because of the great frequency of that combination. In the NT. also, as in the OT., the traditional pronunciation of the phrase is true to the actual usage.

with especial frequency in the book of Daniel, for narrating, because of the highly imaginative character of the narrative. The same is true of the imperfect tense (see below). In the excitement of such narration, the writer sees the events actually take place before him. It is mistaken editing, for instance, when Strack (*l. c.*) and others alter קָרָא in 5 : 7 to קָרֵא, on the ground that the participle would not be used in this way in ordinary Syriac or Hebrew narrative.

3 : 29 שֶׁלָהּ. Here is one of the few cases where the alternative reading preserved in the massoretic vowel-pointing gives us a word which is altogether different, in origin and meaning, from that in the consonant text. It is not easy to see why so many of our modern interpreters should hesitate in regard to the word originally intended, especially in view of 4 : 14 and i Sam. 1 : 17.[1] Besides, nouns meaning "thing, matter," derived from verbs signifying "ask, seek, wish" are common in Semitic; thus we have Arabic مَسْأَلَة, مَطْلَب, Syriac ܫܐܠܬܐ, etc.

3 : 31–4 : 34. I am unable to see any probable connection between this account of Nebuchadnezzar's humiliation and the legend contained in the fragment from Abydenus. The one point of interest in the latter is the prediction, by the king, of the subjugation of his kingdom by Cyrus, "the mule." The words in which he curses the Persian monarch contain nothing unusual, nothing striking, nothing which would be likely to remain in the memory of any one who had read them. He does not even carry out the figure of "the mule," as we might expect that he would; does not even hint, for instance, at the wish that Cyrus might *be treated as a beast* (to say nothing of his being transformed into one!). All that he wishes is, that the Persian might miss his way to Babylon, and be led off into the trackless desert (a most natural wish, and expressed in quite ordinary language). The resemblance to the story of Nebuchadnezzar's experience—so far as it is permissible to speak of any resemblance[2]—is purely accidental.

[1] Beyond any doubt, those who introduced the vowels of שֶׁלָּוְ here knew that the older reading before them was שֶׁלָהּ, that it was derived from שׁאל, and that it meant "thing." It was a familiar noun, and they were probably not in the habit of writing it with א (in 4 : 14 the א is required by the *rhythm*).

[2] The points of contact, out of which our recent commentaries make so much, are the following: (1) Nebuchadnezzar has a divine revelation. (But this is the merest commonplace. All kings of whatever sort, have revelations and see visions, in these popular histories.) (2) The king stands on the roof of his palace. (Where else could he stand, for either of the

4 : 5 ועד אחרין. This phrase has never been satisfactorily explained, so far as I am aware. It means simply "But *at last:*" The word אַחֲרִין, "afterwards," is an adverbial accusative plural, the absolute state corresponding to the construct אַחֲרֵי, which occurs in a few places, namely Dan. 2 : 29, 45, 7 : 24, and once or twice in the Egyptian papyri. The singular number, אחר (likewise originally adverbial accus.), is also found as an adverb with the same meaning, "afterwards," in the papyri (Sayce and Cowley, *Egyptian Papyri*, C 8, H 8, 15, K 10, and in at least one Gentile Aramaic inscription (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i, p. 67). Since we have thus attested both the occurrence of the plural (in the constr.) and the adverbial use in the singular, there is no reason for hesitation as to the nature of the form in our text. Cf. especially the exactly corresponding קַדְמִין in the Jewish Aramaic adverbs בקַדְמִין, "at first," מִלְקַדְמִין, "from the beginning," etc. The use of the word (whether singular or plural), both as adverb and as preposition, was rapidly disappearing at this time; whence, doubtless, it came about that in another textual tradition which was current the reading was אָחֳרָן, "another." By incorporating both, the massoretes have saved for us a precious relic.

The word עַד, expressing the idea of *continuance up to certain point,* is used here precisely as it is occasionally used, in connection with other adverbs of time, where it is best rendered by the word "yet" (though in some cases it is better to leave it untranslated). Thus, עַד אַרְגִּיעָה "for a moment," Prov. 12 : 19; עַד מְהֵרָה, "speedily," Ps. 147 : 15; and the common Syriac ܥܕ ܩܠܝܠ, "after a little, almost," etc.

4 : 6. In view of Theodotion's ἄκουσον there can be little doubt that his Aramaic text contained the word שְׁמַע just before חֶזְוֵי. Such a translator as he would not have inserted the word on his own authority. There may be some doubt, indeed, as to the advisability of emending accordingly, for the text which we have is not impossible. But because of all the other instances of words accidentally omitted in Daniel through the haste or the mental peculiarity of a certain copyist (see above), it seems to me preferable to insert the שמע. So Marti in his *Gramm.*, but not in the *Comm.* I am unable to appreciate the difficulties which some of our commentators find in the remaining words of the verse.

4 : 7. If I understand the notes in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica,* it is

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purposes described in these two stories?) (3) Mention is made of places uninhabited by human beings, but the abode of beasts and birds, whither the king may be brought, against his will. (This is only a coincidence, and unworthy of any special notice.)

proposed there to cancel vss. 3–6! As a specimen of present-day "criticism" this is worthy of attention.

4 : 7 וְחֶזְוִי. This is the only natural reading here. The program laid down in the preceding verse is now carried out; first the dream, then (see vs. 15) the interpretation. The suspended construction, resulting in a sort of paragraph-heading, is the regular thing; cf. for example 2 : 42ª.

4 : 8 חֶזְוָתֵהּ, "the sight of it." This word, which has troubled some scholars, is quite right as it stands. The second part of the verse describes, in a very picturesque and effective way, the stupendous size of the tree. Its top encroached on the heavens, and there was no part of the earth where it could not be seen.[1] Marti, who thinks that the *width* of the tree ought to be described, says of this word: "Für die Bedeutung *Weite, Ausdehnung* darf viell. an מְחוָא *Gebiet* im Midr. Echa bei Dalman aram. Textproben S. 15 erinnert werden." But the word מחוא is simply a borrowing of the Assyr. *maḫāzu*, just as מָתָא (Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 5, line 5) is the Assyr. *mātu*.

4 : 11 תַּחְתּוֹהִי. This form has generally been pronounced a Hebraism. Nöldeke, for example, in the *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1884, l. c., pointed to the disagreement between the vocalization here and that in תַּחְתּוֹהִי, vss. 9 and 18, as an instance of the unstrustworthiness of our massoretic punctuation; and many scholars in recent times have proposed to emend the form in vs. 11, or at least have denied that it is Aramaic. But the pronunciation תַּחַת belongs also to Aramaic; of this the Syriac adverb ܬܚܬ (found also, apparently, in Palmyrene) is sufficient evidence; and as for the twofold pronunciation in these verses, has any one taken due account of the *rhythm* here? It is perfectly obvious, as soon as the question is raised, that the form תַּחוֹת, and not תַּחַת, suits the rhythm in vss. 9 and 18; while the pointing תַּחַת, and not תַּחוֹת, is demanded in vs. 11. And this rhythm is not a creation of the massoretes, but a part of the literary art of the original author himself. Would any one have been more likely than he to care for

[1] Whoever speaks of the phrase τὸ κύτος αὐτοῦ, in the Greek translations of this verse, as "Theodotion's" rendering of חזותד (thus e. g. Marti *in loc.*), ought to add. that phrase originated in the *old* Greek version; see not only vs. 8 but also vs. 19. "The top of the tree reached the sky, and its circumference (?) touched the clouds." It is not by any means certain that the word rendered κύτος was חזות, see especially vs. 19 (old Greek). On the other hand, it *is* certain that the older translator had חזות before him in vs. 17, where he rendered it by ὅρασις. As for Theodotion, he proceeds here in his usual timid way, adopting the phrase from the older version.

the rhetorical effectiveness of the passage? To my own way of thinking, therefore, the twofold pointing, so far from being an evidence of the irresponsible proceeding of the massoretes, is another proof of their trustworthiness. And even if the evidence were less satisfactory than it is (we are limited, unfortunately, to the testimony of this very small amount of *vocalized* Aramaic), is it not fair to insist, in all such cases, that the massoretes should be given the benefit of the doubt? We know, in fact, very little about the Aramaic of that time, whether Jewish or Gentile.

4 : 12. It may be that the notorious difficulties of this verse are due simply to the accidental omission of a word or two from the original text. When vss. 22, 29, and 5 : 21 are compared, it seems probable that the word יִטַּעְמְנֵהּ originally stood just before בְּדִתְאָא. The transformed king is *to be fed* "with the grass of the field, and wet with the dew of heaven." It is true that herbage is also mentioned, as his destined food, at the end of this same verse; but it should be noticed that the clause in which the words appear corresponds to the clause ועם חיות ברא מדרך in the other passages. What is more, the words בעשׂב ארעא *do not occur in vs. 20*, which is a mere repetition of v. 12; for which reason, as well as because they disturb the otherwise regular rhythm, they have already been expunged in Marti's *Comm.* and Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. It seems to me also that they are a late addition, caused by the fact that after the word יטעמנה had fallen out the prediction that the king should eat grass seemed to be missing. The old Greek version is unfortunately of little use as a witness here; for although it seems to support the conjecture of the verb "feed" before בדתאא, its Aramaic original differed considerably from ours (as so often happens); and, moreover, in the text which we now have, a long passage has been omitted by some accident of transcription, namely, the translation of the last six words of vs. 12 and the first three words of vs. 13. It might seem, at the first glance, that the evidence of vs. 20 could be cited against the conjecture that the verb has fallen out before בדתאא. But on the contrary, *the greater part of vs. 20 (namely, all that follows the word* וְהַבְּלוּהִי*) is secondary,* and was added after the time when the loss of the word had occurred in vs. 12. The proof of the fact that this passage in vs. 20 is merely a scribe's repetition from vs. 12 is found not only in the remainder of verses 20–23 (where it is evident that the plan of the original writer was to refer in a few words to each of the main features of the dream—divine command; destruction of the tree; the stump left in the ground—and not to repeat the original wording), but also, and especially, in the old Greek translation, in which this part of vs. 20 is lacking. The

original text of vs. 12, therefore, probably read as follows: ברם עקר שרשוהי בארעא שבקו, ובאסור די פרזל ונחש; יטעמנה בדתאא די ברא, ובטל שמיא יצטבע, ועם חיותא חלקה; "But leave in the earth the stump of his roots, even with a bond of iron and brass. He shall be fed with the grass of the field, and wet with the dew of heaven, and his portion shall be with the beasts." Both rhythm and sense are now perfectly restored. It is barely possible, but hardly probable, that another word was lost in company with יטעמנה; thus, the imperative אסורו, following the word ונחש, would make the phrase less obscure. But it may well be that the author deliberately aimed at obscurity here. As for the meaning of the "bond of iron and brass," those who discuss it should not leave entirely out of account the exegesis preserved for us in the *old* Greek translation. In vs. 14 a (not in our Aramaic) Nebuchadnezzar describes how, in his dream, the tree was actually cut down before his eyes; its branches were broken and scattered; it (or rather, *he!*) "ate the grass of the field, and was cast into prison, and was bound by them in fetters and in brazen shackles." So also vss. 22, εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπάξουσί σε; 29, ἀντὶ τῆς δόξης σου δήσουσί σε; 30 a, ἐγὼ Ναβουχοδονοσὸρ . . . . ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐπεδήθην; these rendering passages which are not in our Aramaic. This is the (probably faithful) translation of a text which was current near the middle of the second century B.C.[1] I believe, nevertheless, that Marti is right in concluding (*Comm. in loc.*) that the original intent of the "bond of iron and brass" was to symbolize the absolute security in which the king's throne was kept for him; see especially vs. 23.

[1] It may, of course, have been a good deal older than that date. Any one who came across an old and interesting version of the Daniel stories (i. e., chaps. 1–6) might have felt at liberty to substitute it, or a part of it, for the "standard" version, in making up a copy of the expanded book. As for the origin of this edition of the stories, namely that one which appears in the old Greek of chaps. 4–6, the probability is that it was made from memory only, without the aid of any written text. No one who compares it carefully with our Aramaic recension can doubt for a moment that the latter stands very much nearer to what the author himself wrote. Our Biblical text, that is, comes straight from the original through the usual process of manuscript transmission; and the numerous changes and losses which it has suffered are probably all due to the usual mechanical accidents. The Aramaic text underlying our older Greek version of chaps. 4–6, on the other hand, was the creation of a narrator who wrote it out from memory; sometimes omitting, or transposing, often repeating, expanding, and adding altogether new material. In all probability, this edition from memory included the whole of the original book (chaps. 1–6); and from it the three chapters named were excerpted, near the middle of the second century

4 : 13 אנוֹשָׁא, so also vs. 14. There is no sufficient ground for calling this a Hebraism ; since the form is known to be good Aramaic, in use among Gentiles as well as Jews, and there is no reason why *both* forms, אנשא and אנושא, should not have been used side by side.

4 : 18. It may be doubted whether this verse stood in the original text. See the note on vs. 20.

4 : 19 רַבְיָת. Kautzsch. *Gramm.*, p. 79, writes : " Ganz unbegreiflich ist Dan. 4 : 19 die Verwandlung des *Kethîbh* רבית (רַבְיָתְ) in רַבַת, welche Form nur als 3. Sing. fem. betrachtet werden könnte." So also Brown-Driver-Briggs, Gesenius-Buhl, Marti, Strack (" רַבַת nihil est "), Bevan, and the rest of the commentators. But the form thus added, as a variant reading, by the massoretes is not difficult to explain, and it is a legitimate one. The idea that the tradition could have adopted here the *feminine third person* (!) is simply ridiculous ; the history of the OT. text, with all its whimsical *curiosa,* contains no parallel to such folly. In the high-sounding sentences of such impressive scenes as this one, it frequently happens, of course, that single words are given an unusual pronunciation (whether by the original author or by a later editor) merely for the sake of the rhetorical effect. This very verse contains certainly one other case of the kind (see below), and probably two. Knowing this fact, and being extremely ignorant of the old Palestinian ideas of rhetoric, desirable phonetic effects, rhythm, poetic license, contrast between popular and lofty style, and so on, it behooves us to be cautious in condemning well attested tradition. The massoretic רַבַת is simply a second pers. sing. masc. of רבא formed after the analogy of the strong verb בַתַּבְתְּ, etc. With רַבַת instead of רַבַּתְּ compare the Hebrew 2 pers. fem. forms גָּלִית, מָלֵאת, etc., as well as בַּת, עֵת, פַּת, and the phonetic tendency in all such cases. I have no doubt whatever that this is the remnant of a pronunciation which was used to a considerable extent—we have no means of knowing how extensively. The choice of this form here hangs together with that of תקפתְּ. To whom we owe the more usual reading, רַבַיְתְּ וּתקֻפְתְּ, which was intended by our consonant text, whether to the author of the Daniel stories or to some later editor, we shall never know certainly ; in view of the general excellence of the consonant text the presumption must be given to it, as the original. But even in that case, the massoretic vocalization is of great value.

4 : 19 רַבָּת וּמטַת. The reason for the divergent vocalization, which has perplexed all interpreters, lies in the fact that the verb רבת belongs

B.C., by some one who was writing out the recently published, and greatly enlarged, second edition of the book of Daniel.

with the words *preceding*, while מטת (exactly parallel in form) belongs with the *following*. This method of separating them phonetically is effective, and perfectly legitimate. We do not know how old it is, and ought not to alter the reading (as all our text-books do). In any case it embodies ancient ideas of rhetoric which have historical worth.

It is probable, as some have observed, that the form of the word רְבוּתך was determined by the assonance with רְבת.

4 : 20. Cancel all that follows the word וחבלוהי. See the note on vs. 12 in this chapter.

4 : 21 מִטָּיִת. This is another word which has been universally misunderstood. So far from being the result of a scribal error (as it has always been considered), it is one of the rare and valuable old forms belonging to *stative* verbs of this class. In all branches of the Aramaic language, these forms with י, which were originally regular in the *peal* stem of intransitive ל״א verbs, began at an early date to disappear. In one verb after another, the stative forms are gradually replaced by the corresponding active forms, before our very eyes. חדי becomes חדא, ܝܰܡܰܝ (imperative) is replaced by ܝܰܡܶܝ, and so on. In the numerous verbs in which intransitive and transitive forms had stood side by side, the former are generally seen to vanish altogether. See Nöldeke, *Syrische Gramm.*, § 176 A, D; *Mandäische Gramm.*, pp. 256 f; Dalman, *Gramm. des jüd.-palästin. Aramäisch*, § 72, 2; Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, § 271, H, b. By good fortune, this very verb מטי, alongside of מטא, affords one of the best illustrations of the process. Aside from this example in Biblical Aramaic, we have a few solitary remnants of the intransitive pronunciation in the oldest classical Syriac, and in Mandæan; while in the Samaritan dialect מטי is the usual form. Thus, in the Peshitta version of Jer. 32 : 23, ܘܡܛܝܬ ܐܢܘܢ ܟܠܗ ܗܕܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ, "and all this evil came upon them"—a sentence which is strikingly parallel to this one in Daniel!; also (the same form, with a similar meaning) in i Cor. 10 : 11, and i Pet. 4 : 7. In all three of these passages, the later native editors, grammarians, and lexicographers have wished to "modernize" the vowel-pointing (see Payne-Smith); that is, they would do the very same thing which the massoretic variant does in Dan. 4 : 21. And finally, this identical form, fem. third sing. of the stative *peal* perf., happens to be found once more in Mandæan, מיטיאת, Nöldeke, *Gramm.*, p. 257.

As for the pronunciation of this Biblical form, מטית, the choice lies between מִטְיַת and מִטְיַת. The former corresponds to the type followed in the Syriac verbs of this class; but the latter pronunciation seems to

have prevailed everywhere else, and especially in Jewish Aramaic. In view of such examples as אתכרית, Dan. 7 : 15, the later Jewish Aramaic בכויתא, סגיאת, etc., and the Mandæan form mentioned above, we cannot hesitate to adopt the vocalization מְטַיַת.[1] The occurrence of *both* forms, active and stative, in close proximity, is one of those things which show that we are dealing with a living speech, not with a mere learned idiom. In all living languages, just such variations abound.

4 : 22 "*They shall wet thee* with the dew of heaven." This is the best possible example of this use of the indefinite third person plural as a substitute for the passive voice, "thou shalt be wet."

4 : 23. The use of the word שמיא, "Heaven," in this verse, as a substitute for "God," gains fresh interest from the earlier date (the third century B.C.) here assigned to the book. In the *second* century it is very well known, and was probably very wide-spread. Notice, for instance, how the *old* Greek translator renders מן שמיא, in vs. 20 of this same chapter, by παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου.

4 : 27 תְּקָף (construct state). Kautzsch, *Gramm.*, § 57 a α, Marti, *Gramm.*, p. 89*, and the dictionaries, all describe this as a noun of the *qatāl* type, and expressly distinguish it from the תָּקְפָּא of 2 : 37. But this is a mistake; we have in both cases the very same *qutl* noun. There is nothing remarkable, or irregular, in this manner of writing the short vowel (*ŏ* as a variation of *ŭ*).[2]

4 : 31 יתוב. Marti, in his explanation of this imperfect (*Gramm.* p. 103, and *Comm.*), fails to appreciate the vividness of the Semitic imagination, and also overlooks one or two other cases of this same usage. He renders: "und *nach und nach* kam ich wieder zu Verstand." But would he translate 6 : 20, "then the king *arose gradually* יקום in the early morning"? The two cases are precisely similar. This imaginative imperfect is completely interchangeable with the perfect tense, in such compositions as this. אבצא in 7 : 16 is another example.

[1] It is out of the question to propose the pointing מַטַּיַת, for, aside from all the testimony in favor of the intrans. *peal*, there is no evidence that the *pael* of this verb was ever used in any Western Aramaic dialect.

[2] It is a matter of indifference grammatically, for instance, whether we write תְּקְפָּא or תָּקְפָּא. The *hofal* form הָנְחַת stands side by side with the similar form הָצַל. And there is certainly no reason why any one should expect a long vowel in the last syllable of this noun *in the construct state.* The slight variation in pronunciation is a matter of small concern. It seems to be a similar case of misunderstanding when Marti writes in his *Gramm.*, p. 91, "שָׁלְטָן *Herrschaft* (vielleicht ist aram. שְׁלְטָן zu lesen)." This is rather mystifying, inasmuch as the two forms are identical, and the manner

4 : 31, 32. This is one of the numerous places where Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* prints the text in metrical form, in this book. Even if it were a desirable thing to do, the attempt is more than precarious. It would be easy to find similar successions of rhythmically regular clauses even in the classical orators, for example, or in the writings of certain modern essayists; but to print such passages in the form of verse would not be a happy thought. As for the Old Testament, wherever a Hebrew writer rises to rhetorical heights he inevitably falls into the three-beat rhythm. To search out the cases of this sort, however, in such a book as this, and make them into verses, in sharp contrast with their prose context, is sure to do more harm than good. And who is to determine what is "poetry" and what is not? Vs. 14[b] in this chapter, for example, has the same right to be included in the metrical scheme as have the verses immediately preceding it. Leaving out the superfluous עד דברת[1], all the rest, to the end of the verse, is as regular—four lines of three beats each—as anything in the Psalms or the Prophets. To mention a few more instances, in the latter part of this same chapter: The words of Nebuchadnezzar in vs. 27 have as truly metrical a form as those in vs. 32. The whole of the oracular utterance in vss. 28 f. ought certainly to be printed in stichoi, *if anything* in Daniel is thus printed. And why miss the obvious opportunity in vs. 34?

כען אנה נבוכדנצר
משבח ומרומם ומהדר למלך שמיא
די כל מעבדוהי קשוט וארחתה דין
ודי מהלכין בגוה יכל להשפלה

It is true that all the instances of the kind—both those which are designated in Kittel's text and those which are not—ought to be recognized and appreciated by the reader. In a properly edited text, the marks of punctuation would be amply sufficient for this purpose; this is, in fact, one of the chief reasons why a punctuated text of the Old Testament is sorely needed. But it is following a false principle to print these passages *in the form of verse* (and in an edition loaded with the massoretic accentuation, into the bargain!), especially since there is not even the smallest likelihood that any of them were ever written thus in the ancient time.

4 : 32 כלה חשיבין. The best parallel from the Old Testament is the phrase באין עינים, "like (those who have) no eyes," Is. 59 : 10.

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of speaking and writing the first vowel is merely a matter of local and temporary custom.

[1] Why not? Superfluous (i. e. metrically superfluous) clauses are frequently emended away in this edition; for example, in this very passage, vs. 32.

4 : 33. It might seem, at first sight, that something has fallen out after the word מלכותי, but the supposition is not necessary. In vs. 27 of this same chapter, ליקר הדרי means "*for the sake of my glorious honor,*" and it is therefore most natural to render similarly here: "At that time my reason returned to me; and, for the sake of my royal honor, my splendor and my kingly appearance were restored. Then my ministers and my nobles made eager search[1] for me, and I was restored to my kingdom." The king tells, in the first part of the verse, *in what condition his ministers found him.* It would not be fitting, "for the sake of his royal honor," that they should find him in rags and filth and looking like a madman. On the contrary, his reason was perfectly restored; his royal apparel (הדר, as elsewhere) was returned to him; and his personal appearance (זיו, as elsewhere) was again worthy of his rank.

The verbal repetitions in vss. 31–33, which have been objected to by some recent commentators, and because of which extensive alterations of the text are proposed in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica,* are eminently characteristic of the author of these Daniel stories.

4 : 33 התקנת. This (best attested) pointing probably belongs to one of those "alternative readings" which are frequently encountered in the massoretic text. That is, there was an attempt to embody *both* the reading: "and over my kingdom I was established (התקנת)" and the other: "and *to me* (ועלי) my kingdom was restored" (compare especially the old Greek, ἀποκατεστάθη ἡ βασιλεία μου ἐμοί).

4 : 34. Kittel's *Biblia* prefers the text of the old Greek version. See on the contrary the remarks on vs. 12, above, the footnote at the end.

The unusual phrase "King of Heaven" (cf. 5 : 23, "Lord of Heaven") is found also in i Esdras 4 : 46, 58, in each of the two editorial patches which were composed, *probably at just about the time when the Daniel stories were written,* in order to unite the Story of the Three Youths to the Chronicler's history. See my *Ezra Studies,* p. 49, 57, 59.

5 : 5 נברשתא. This hitherto unexplained word is of good Semitic origin, if I am not mistaken. It is compounded from נבר "place, put, stand," and the feminine noun אשת (אשתא, אשתא, etc.), "fire." The word meant originally "fire-stand" or "lamp-stand," and is probably ancient. The root נבר is the most common of all roots in Ethiopic to signify "put, place;" we have no need, however, to suppose that the Aramæans borrowed the term from the southern Semites, for the verb may once have been in common use in the north.

[1] Notice that the unusual *pael* stem is used here, obviously for its added effect in the picture.

5 : 5 פס . For the meaning of the word, cf. the Peshitta version of Is. 60 : 14, and both the Peshitta and Syr.-Hex. of ii Sam. 14 : 25. יד and רגל may include the forearm and lower leg, respectively. The narrator wishes to make it plain that only the *hand* (not the wrist and forearm) appeared.

5 : 12 אחְנִית. Another old form, which it has been customary to "emend" to אחוִית. See Ezra 4 : 22, and my *Ezra Studies,* pp. 165 f.

5 : 20 רם. It is, I think, best to treat this as *passive*; not merely because we have no other evidence of a stative pronunciation of this verb, but also and especially because in the Semitic languages generally, and more particularly in the popular speech, there is a strong tendency toward the use of the passive voice in speaking of *affections of the mind.* Compare, e. g., עשׂית, "minded," 6 : 4; דכיר, "mindful;" עציב, "sorrowful," 6 : 21; and so a great many others. It would be easy to multiply examples.

5 : 25 The writing on the wall. According to our massoretic tradition here (which, however, be it noted at the outset, is contradicted by every other witness, including the testimony of the Aramaic text itself in the following verses) the words written on the wall were מנא מנא תקל ופרסין, MENĒ, MENĒ, TEQEL, UPARSIN. But this is not the original reading of the Aramaic text of this verse. What the author of the book wrote, as is attested by an overwhelming array of evidence, is simply מנא תקל פרס, MENĒ, TEQEL, PERES.

According to the interpretation which has been most widely current in recent years, among the exegetes of the more advanced school, the words of the inscription on the wall are the names of Babylonian weights: *mina, shekel,* and *half-minas.* Thus Clermont-Ganneau (*Journal Asiatique,* 1886), Nöldeke, Hoffmann, Bevan, Haupt, Prince, Marti, and others. The "mina" is supposed to stand for Nebuchadnezzar, and the "shekel" for Belshazzar. It was customary, it is said, to speak of the inferior son of an excellent man as "a shekel, the son of a mina." The "half-minas" would then naturally suggest the division of the power or property represented by the mina. That is, according to this theory, the sole difficulty of the inscription was that of the characters in which it was written. The words which were inscribed on the wall were perfectly familiar to all those who were present; and, what is more, their typical significance was obvious. No one of the "soothsayers," if he had only been able to read the script, could have had reason for hesitating, for he must at once have had suggested to him interpretations which would have satisfied himself, his companions, and (with a little ingenuity) even the king.

But the theory is untenable, and even absurd, for the following reasons. (1) The man who wrote this tale *must* be supposed to have known what the solution was. It is quite necessary that Belshazzar and his magicians should have been mystified by the inscription; but it certainly requires desperate courage to reject the interpretation given us by the author of the story, and defend another in total conflict with it. The advocates of the theory assume, it is true, that the narrator found the mystical sentence somewhere, but failed to find the explanation with it! But this assumption is altogether too great a tax on our credulity, especially when the perfect transparency of the "mina-shekel" riddle is borne in mind. (2) The word תקל does not mean "shekel." The shekel was as well-known among the Babylonians as among the Jews, and the technical term appears frequently on weights and in documents, always in the same form, Babylonian *šiqlu*, Aramaic שקל.[1] The standard shekel also appears in the Jewish Aramaic documents from Egypt; and there, too, the word is written with ש.[2] (3) "Half-minas" would be פרסין. That is, the advocates of the theory must alter the vowel-pointing of the word. (Marti, *Gramm.*, p. 73, pronounces the ending *-īn* of this word a *dual* ending!) (4) The original text of vs. 25 did not contain the word פרסין at all, but פרס, as will be shown. (5) There is no difficulty or discrepancy in the interpretation which the author himself gives us.

First, as to the original form of the text. Theodotion had before him in this verse, as the writing on the wall, the *three* words מנא תקל פרס, *and nothing else*. The word מנא was *not* repeated, and פרס was not in the plural number. Of this we can be absolutely certain, knowing Theodotion as we do. And this text, again, was precisely what Jerome had before him when he made his Latin translation. In this case also we know our man. He was a faithful translator, and one who never could have committed the folly of deliberately altering the words of this God-sent inscription, which he was professing to *transliterate!* The old Greek translator is another witness who tells the same straight story. In the summary account (whatever its history) which is prefixed to chap. 5, the words of the ominous legend are given, and the inter-

[1] See, for example, the weights described in the ZDMG., vol. 61, p. 949.

[2] The word תִּקְלָא, "weight," was used to some extent among the Jews at a later date to designate a definite weight, as certain passages in the Targums and the Talmud show. This weight was the *half-shekel* (formerly called בקע), as the Targum of Gen. 24:22 and Ex. 38:26 proves. The term was used at the time when סְלַעְא had supplanted the older שקלא as the name of the full-weight shekel.

pretation is added: μανή, φαρές, θεκέλ. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἑρμηνεία αὐτῶν· μανή, ἠρίθμηται· φαρές, ἐξῆρται· θεκέλ, ἕσταται. And in vs. 17, which belongs to *another* (also much abridged) *recension of the Aramaic text*, we see the reading again confirmed, though this time only the interpretation is given: ἠρίθμηται, κατελογίσθη, ἐξῆρται, the words standing once more in the usual order. As we have already seen, there were various recensions current even in the middle of the second century B.C. The testimony of Josephus is of unusual importance here, for the recension which he follows is altogether distinct from those represented in the old Greek which we have. It is plain from his account of the event (*Antt.* x, 232–247) that the text before him—whether Greek or Aramaic—agreed pretty closely with our own massoretic recension; see for instance §§ 241 and 242. He gives the words of the inscription as μανή, θεκέλ, φαρές, and interprets them as *nouns*, meaning respectively ἀριθμός, σταθμός, and κλάσμα. In view of the perfect coincidence of this varied testimony, and the very unusual nature of the case (the importance of the divine oracle making *exact* transcription obviously necessary), there can be no question whatever that in all of these (five) distinct texts, dating all the way from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D., the reading of the inscription in vs. 25 was just the same; the word *menē* was not repeated, and the reading *uparsīn* (instead of *perēs*) was quite unknown.

But this is not all. *Our own massoretic text* bears plain witness to the correctness of the reading attested by all the others. If the finger of God wrote ופרסין (vs. 25), by what right is this altered, without any explanation, into the quite different word פרס, in vs. 28? And whence can this פרס have come? The case is so clear, and the explanation so certain, that there is hardly need of argument. The ופרסין, *uparsīn*, of our massoretic text was originally a marginal gloss (whence the ו, as in so many similar cases). The reason why it was inserted in the text was the ever-working and praiseworthy motive, ἵνα μή τι ἀπόληται, which has preserved for us so many valuable things, and often made us so much trouble, in the tradition of the Old Testament text. It could have been argued in this case, of course, that nothing was *lost* through the insertion, since the reading פרס, *perēs*, was preserved in vs. 28.[1] The gloss *parsīn* had its origin, of course, in some one's innocent attempt at interpretation. As for the repetition of the word מנא, *menē*, that is due to one of the easiest and most common of all transcriptional errors.

[1] Compare, for example, what was said above regarding the pointing of התקנת, in 4:33.

the eye of the copyist strayed to the מנא מנא in the next following line.[1]

In regard to the *grammatical form* of the three words of the enigma, there has been no agreement among scholars, nor any plausible explanation. Behrmann (*Daniel*, 1894) and Kamphausen (1896), like many of the older exegetes, hold that תקל and פרס are passive participles "in meaning, though not in form," (!) the last syllable having been conformed to that of מנא. On the contrary, if this had been intended, we should have had rather מני תקל פרס. Margoliouth (article "Daniel" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*) believes that the three words are verbs. This is even worse than the other explanation. Peters (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1896) suggests that the words were left unpointed and unpronounced, both in vs. 25 and in the following verses where they are repeated. But the tradition is very ancient, and perfectly uniform, that they *were* vocalized. The old Greek version, Josephus, Theodotion, and the Latin of Jerome all attest precisely the pronunciation given in our Aramaic text.[2] And it seems to me certain that the author of the stories himself, in his mental picture of the scene, thought of the words as pronounced in just this way, *when Daniel read them*, and gave their interpretation to those who were present. What the narrator thought in regard to *the form of the writing on the wall* is of course another matter. He may have thought of it as in characters quite unknown—until then—to human beings; or as in some occult signs which could be known only to the most learned of men, such as Daniel was. The narrative says plainly that the wise men of Babylon were not even able to read the writing, to say nothing of interpreting it. If it had been in unpointed Aramaic letters, they would have read it at once—why not? Were they not in the habit of reading unpointed texts? But the question of the characters is not a matter of consequence, for it does not affect the story. The question of the pronunciation, on the other hand, *is* important, as I believe. Some of the mystifying character of the divine utterance lay in just this particular. It was not simply a question of reading strange writing; the words themselves, when they were read, presented something of a puzzle. The author of the story did not wish the interpretation of the mystical writing to be too obvious,

[1] Here, again, it may be that the wish *to preserve everything*, in this most important passage, led the massoretes to adopt this inferior reading from some manuscript.

[2] The vowel in the first syllable of the Greek or Latin transliteration is determined here in each case by the original nature of the reduced vowel, as usual, the three words being treated as substantives (of course!).

as soon as its sound was heard;—and if the three words had been verbs, or passive participles, or names of weights, the inscription would certainly have been as easy as it could have been made. There was, in fact, no such obvious inter-relation of the words as there would have been in any one of the other supposed cases. They did *not* form a sentence, and, so far as we are able to judge, could not even have formed a comprehensible series. They were *vocalized uniformly*, after the pattern of the simplest Aramaic noun-form *qetēl*; the most natural form for the narrator to choose, if he wished them to be non-committal. The reason why the less usual root פרס was chosen was (as Peters and others have pointed out) because it could stand for both "dividing" and "Persians." We can imagine how the hearers may have thought, when they heard the first word of the riddle, *MENĒ*: "This means *counted*." And as the second, *TEQĒL*, was pronounced, they must then have hastened to add: "No; the first was perhaps *mina*, and this is *weight*." But as the third was uttered, they could only have said to themselves in despair: "The whole thing is meaningless, for *PERĒS* signifies nothing that is possible here!" But Daniel was ready with his interpretation. It might well have seemed to the others to be unwarranted, but so much the better; its correctness was very soon put beyond all question. "In that night Belshazzar the Chaldean king was slain, and Darius the Mede received the kingdom."

6:1–3. "Darius the Mede" is Darius Hystaspis, who (in the Jewish tradition) immediately preceded Cyrus. His age at the time of his receiving the Babylonian kingdom is given as "sixty-two" for the sake of the chronology, in order to make up the "seventy years" of the Babylonian captivity. We have in vss. 2 and 3 a real reminiscence of the great reforms actually instituted by Darius I. On the other hand, these two verses probably rest on i Esdras 3:2, 9, as their source, and *there* the deeds of this Darius are transferred to Darius III Codomannus. In Dan. 6:2, the old Greek version is probably right in giving the number of the satraps as 127, the word ושבעה having fallen out of our massoretic text by accident; cf. i Esdras 3:2. The word טעמא is used in vs. 3 to mean "official report," exactly as in Ezra 4:7 (the title בעל מעם, ὁ γράφων τὰ προσπίπτοντα), 5:5. In support of the statements contained in this note, see my *Ezra Studies*, pp. 41, 48, 135 f., 141 note 7, 200.

6:19 שנתה נדת עלוהי. This must not be confused with the phrase which is found in 2:1, שְׁנָתוֹ נִהְיְתָה עֲלַיו (cf. 8:27, אֲנִי דָנִיֵּאל נִהְיֵיתִי). The text is sound in all three of these passages. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* proposes to omit the verb in 8:27, "with the old Greek version"; but it is on the contrary obvious that the latter has lost by

accident at least one word in this clause, namely, the rendering of this very verb; the present text is grammatically incomplete.

6:27. From the phrase חַיָּא וְקַיָּמָא comes the old Mohammedan الحيّ القيّوم, in which the second adjective is a loanword from the Aramaic.

6:29. This verse formed the close of the original book of Daniel (see above). The aged prophet lived to see the reign of Cyrus, living in high honor at the court, but died in the first year of that monarch (1:21, the verse which was forgotten by the author of 10:1!).

7:1. It seems to me quite certain that the word וְבַהֲלוֹגֵהּ has accidentally dropped out after מִשְׁכְּבֵהּ. There is no other plausible way of explaining this first sentence. This phrase was repeated several times by the author of chaps. 1–6, and it is now adopted (see also vs. 15) by the later writer. In regard to the probability of the omission, see what was said, above, concerning the frequency with which such accidents as this have taken place in the Daniel text.[1]

7:1, 2. Theodotion's Aramaic text did not contain the last three words of vs. 1, nor the first three words of vs. 2. The Aramaic which lay before the old Greek translator did not contain the *last word* of vs. 1, nor the first three words of vs. 2. This makes it practically certain that the phrase רֵאשׁ מִלִּין was originally a marginal gloss; literally, "*Beginning of words*"; i. e., "Here begins the 'personal memoir' of Daniel, told by himself in the first person." And in fact, the first person is maintained (saving the single lapse in 10:1) from this point on to the end of the book.[2] After the gloss had been incorporated in the text (as in that which lay before the old Greek translator), the addition of at least a verb (like אמר) was necessary, and the other words of our MT followed very naturally. The ordinary translation here is impossible; how could מלין be rendered "*the* matters," or "*die* Sache?" The two verses should read: "In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon Daniel had a dream, and the visions of his head upon his bed troubled him. Then he wrote down the dream: I saw in my vision by night," etc.

7:9. With the phrase עתיק יומיא, "aged man" (English Bible, "ancient of days"), cf. *John of Ephesus*, ed. Cureton, p. 450, line 2,

[1] It is instructive to compare the similar omissions, through hasty transcription, in the two copies of the official letter preserved in the Elephantine papyri published by Sachau.

[2] ראש is the usual word for the "beginning" of a new paragraph of any sort. So, for instance, constantly in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary.

where the very same phrase, ܥܬܝܩܐ ܡܘܬܐ, is used in speaking of certain "old men."

7 : 13. The preposition עִם ought not to be "emended" from the text. It is characteristic of this writer; see also vs. 2 of this chapter.

7 : 15. Instead of בגוֹא נִדנֵה, "in the midst of its sheath," read בגוֹן דנָה, "by reason of this." גוֹן is a Persian word, meaning "color," then "appearance, fashion," and the like; used somewhat similarly in Syriac. For traces of its later use (with the pronunciation גוּן) in Jewish Aramaic, see Dalman, *Grammatik*², pp. 221, 226 f., 239. The common Rabbinical בגִין, "because of," I suppose to be merely a late phonetic variation of the older בגוֹן. Perhaps the pronunciation בגִין became differentiated from בגוּן in this particular usage.

7 : 20. Instead of וקַרנָא דִכֵּן, the original reading must have been simply קַרנִין, "three *horns*;" after which came the principal pause in the verse. The impossible reading of our text is due to the carelessness of a copyist, who got the words from the beginning of vs. 21.

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CONSTANTINE OF FLEURY, -985-1014, A.D

F. M. WARREN

X.—Constantine of Fleury (–985–1014).

Among the many letters written by Gerbert before he became Pope Sylvester II are three addressed to a certain Constantine, *scolasticus* at Fleury (St. Benoît-sur-Loire), and afterwards abbot of St. Mesmin, to the West of Orleans.[1] Another letter of Gerbert's to the monk Bernard emphasizes his friendship for the *scolasticus*, and his high opinion of his intellectual attainments, particularly his talent for music.[2] And this friendship is again affirmed in the composition of the treatise, *Libellus de Numerorum Divisione*, for Constantine, a work of pure affection, the preface tells us.[3]

These eulogies lead to the inevitable conclusion that, in Gerbert's opinion at least, Constantine was one of the foremost scholars of the day, an ardent lover of the authors of Latin antiquity, and an authority in the domain of music. They also indicate the places where Constantine lived, Fleury and St. Mesmin, during the closing years of the tenth century. But of his past life not a word, nor yet a hint of his future activity. Further information regarding this *scolasticus* is, however, not lacking.

André of Fleury who, in 1041, wrote the life of Gauzlin, a bastard son of Hugh Capet, abbot of Fleury from 1004 and bishop of Bourges from 1013 to his death in 1030, knew something of Constantine. He tells us that our monk had been brought up at Fleury, that it was Arnulf, bishop of Orleans, who had made him abbot of St. Mesmin, and that while still at Fleury he had set a poem on St. Benedict to music. But this poem was sung only after a lapse

[1] See *Lettres de Gerbert*, edited by J. Havet: Paris, 1889; letters 86, 141, 191, as well as 143 written by Constantine to Gerbert.

[2] Ergo si quisquam vestrum cura talium rerum permovetur, vel in musica perdiscenda, vel in his quae fiunt ex organis, quod per me adimplere nequeo, si cognovero certum velle domini abbatis R., cui omnia debeo, per Constantinum Floriacensem supplere curabo. Est aenim nobilis scolasticus, adprime eruditus, michique in amicicia conjunctissimus. Letter 92.

[3] Vis amicitiae poene impossibilia redigit ad possibilia. Nam quomodo rationes numerorum abaci explicare contenderemus, nisi te adhortante, o mi dulce solamen laborum Const.? *Op. cit.*, p. 238.—See also Richer, *Historiarum* iii. c. 54 (Société de l'Histoire de France series), where the *Libellus* is mentioned as intended for "C. grammaticum."

of years, under Gauzlin, not under Abbo.[1] And much earlier than André's record, back in the previous century, before the death of Louis, king of France († 987), and therefore about the time of Gerbert's first letter to his absent pupil, a former fellow-student at Rheims had addressed some verses to Constantine. In obscure phrases the unknown poetaster expresses his sorrow over his old comrade's change of residence, and then proceeds to praise the poetry he used to write, in excellence rivalling the lines of Sophocles.[2]

Piecing out the hints afforded by this effusion with the statements made by André of Fleury, we can construct an outline of Constantine's youth. He had been nurtured by the monks at Fleury, had won their admiration as a student of promise, had been sent by them to Gerbert's school, then at the height of its prosperity, had there attained proficiency in music, one of the Seven Arts for which Gerbert was famous, had composed verse of considerable merit, and had returned to Fleury by the end of 986. He was now twenty-five or thirty years old, assuming that Gerbert's words of commendation indicate a man of some maturity.

But what of Constantine's surroundings at Fleury? Gerbert's first letter, an answer to one received from Constantine, more than intimates that there was dissension in the abbey. The *scolasticus* was evidently in open revolt against his superior, Abbot Oïlbodus, whom Gerbert does not call by name but whom he stigmatizes as "pervasor." The date of this epithet is July or August, 986, according to Havet,[3] who is undoubtedly correct in his surmise. For

[1] His etenim diebus, historia patris Benedicti adventus, quam Constantinus, illius loci nutritius, atque abbatiae Miciacensis honore ab Arnulfo, Aurelianensium presule donatus, musicae artis dictaverat pneumatibus, suasu Helgaudi precentoris, permissuque Gauzlini abbatis, Floriacensi loco primo insonuit.—See *Vita Gauzlini* in *Neues Archiv*, vol. iii, p. 352.—The precentor Helgaud has come down to posterity as the biographer of Robert the Pious. Constantine may have written the poem as well as composed the music. But it should be said that his contemporary at Fleury, Aimoin, author of a life of Abbot Abbo (988–1004), closes another work, the *Historia Francorum*, with a poem in hexameters on the translation to France of St. Benedict's remains. See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 139, col. 797–802.

[2] Eia cara chelis, protelans vocibus aptis,
Carmina pange viro morum probitate colendo,
Solo Soffocleo quae sint condigna coturno.

Neues Archiv, vol. ii, pp. 222–227. Lines 62–64 contain the quotation, a plagiarism from Virgil.

[3] Letter 86.

Amalbert, Oïlbodus' predecessor, had died in April, 985, and the installation of a new abbot must have followed shortly afterward, certainly within a year. A letter of Gerbert to Maïeul of Cluny, which is dated by Havet in February, 986, shows Oïlbodus in possession.[1] Why there was opposition to him we do not know. King Lothaire may have forced him on the community, a somewhat improbable conjecture, resting only on the epithet quoted above.[2] Or Constantine, who had just arrived from Rheims, conscious of his intellectual attainments and relying on Gerbert's friendship, may have aspired to the pastorate in vain. What is certain is that Constantine was hostile to Oïlbodus, that Gerbert battled valiantly for him,[3] or for his faction, and that both master and pupil did not refrain from showing their joy when the "pervasor" departed this mundane existence.[4] An untimely rejoicing it proved, for the passing of Oïlbodus did not profit Constantine. His partisans were clearly in the minority, and Abbo, the most talented of the older friars, a staunch supporter of Oïlbodus, who had been sent by him early in 986 to instruct the monks of Ramsey, in England, at the request of Archbishop Oswald, then recalled after a two years' mission by his father superior, was elected to the abbacy towards the end of 988.[5]

Some inferences may be allowed at this point. Abbo must have been the head of the Fleury school before he went to England, and quite likely Constantine's first teacher. But Gerbert calls Constantine *scolasticus*. Therefore he was Abbo's substitute for the time being. Filled with zeal for the new learning he had acquired at Rheims, it is more than probable that he gave a direction to the instruction at Fleury which did not meet with Oïlbodus' approval. Abbo, an erudite man in his way, and a renowned educator, based his courses on the Church Fathers and did not admit to his curriculum Cicero, Virgil and the lyric poets of pagan Rome.[6] The

[1] Letter 69.

[2] See *Lettres de Gerbert*, p. 65, n. 5.

[3] *Lettres de Gerbert*, nos. 80, 87, 88, 95.

[4] *Op. cit.*, letters 142, 143.

[5] *Vita S. Abbonis*, by Aimoin of Fleury in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 139, col. 590–593. Cf. F. Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet* (in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études series, no. 137), p. 13, n. 5.

[6] See Ch. Pfister's interesting comparison of the monkish idea of education at this time with the tendencies of the bishops' schools, in his *Études sur le règne de Robert le Pieux* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études series, n. 64), pp. 2 ff.

urgent summons which hastened Abbo's return from Ramsey shows that his presence was imperatively demanded by the authorities at Fleury. Oïlbodus evidently felt that his strength was declining. The protagonists of the new education at Fleury were also his personal opponents. He wished to make sure of the succession to the pastoral office, and he did so, but not by winning over the malcontents. Abbo's biographer admits that the election was not unanimous. Some friars objected, "as is wont to happen in such cases,"[1] and among these objectors we can hardly fail to find Constantine.

The subsequent relations of our monk to Fleury escape us. Aimoin mentions a "Constantinum presbyterum," who was to accompany Bernard of Beaulieu on a pilgrimage to Rome, late in 989 or in 990, but he is almost certainly not the old *scolasticus*.[2] The silence of this writer must have been intentional. He belonged to the dominant party, whose adherents seem to have decided on the elimination of Constantine. The testimony of André of Fleury, that Constantine's music for the poem on St. Benedict was not sung until Gauzlin had succeeded to Abbo, indicates the purpose on the part of the Fleury officials to ignore their brilliant subordinate. If such was their intention is was thoroughly executed. When Constantine appears again in the records of the day it is no longer as a friar at Fleury, but as the abbot of St. Mesmin, a foundation not many miles away from his earlier station. Unfortunately the first document which shows this transfer and promotion is a letter of Gerbert, written as late as 997,[3] and which is wholly devoted to its author's own troubles at Rheims. It does not allude to Constantine's affairs, and we would be entirely at loss to know how he had secured his abbacy, did not we not possess André of Fleury's statement, already cited, that he had been appointed to the position by Arnulf of Orleans. The ecclesiastical annals of the nineties may perhaps furnish a clue to this bishop's benevolent intervention.

In June, 991, a council of prelates had convened at Verzy, near Rheims, to pass on the conduct of Arnulf, archbishop of Rheims,

[1] Migne, *loc. cit.*, col. 593.

[2] Migne, *loc. cit.*, col. 598. Aimoin speaks of a "Constantinus presbyter" —probably the same monk—who was present at the relation of a miracle, apparently after Abbo's death († 1004). See *Miracles de St. Benoît* (in the Société de l'Histoire de France series), iii, c. 3 (p. 132).

[3] *Op. cit.*, letter 191. Cf. F. Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet* pp. 272–276.

in reference to the kings of France. The bishops who took part in this council finally united in condemning Arnulf. Among them was Arnulf of Orleans. But of the abbots at Verzy, two in particular stood out against the decision of the bishops, and one of these two was Abbo of Fleury. There seems to be no doubt that on this occasion Abbo was solely actuated by a desire to strengthen the power of the Pope in matters pertaining to church government. Yet the practical result of his attitude was to increase the friction between him and the bishop of Orleans, in the other party. For some years the community of Fleury and the bishop of Orleans had been at loggerheads about certain properties. Under Oïlbodus a dispute had arisen over the revenue of a vineyard near Orleans.[1] Later, perhaps before the council of Verzy, but certainly not by many months, as Abbo himself was on the way to Tours to celebrate St. Martin's festival, he was attacked by the bishop's men and lost some of his retinue in the fight.[2] To compose this difficulty the authority of the kings of France was needed.[3] On the other hand, in 992 or 993, an outbreak of monks occurred at a council held at St. Denis, an outbreak which Arnulf accused Abbo of fomenting. So it is perfectly clear that no love was lost between these neighbors, dignitaries of the Church.[4]

Now when we take into consideration that the condemnation of Arnulf of Rheims by the bishops assembled at Verzy led to the elevation of Gerbert to the archbishopric—an elevation which the papal party claimed to be illegal—we readily understand how the private quarrels of Abbo and Arnulf of Orleans might affect the career of a friend of Gerbert, who was under Abbo's rule, and who objected to it. And we might fairly assume that the transfer of Constantine from Fleury to St. Mesmin was a direct result of all this bickering. The promotion may have followed at once on the council of Verzy, and Constantine may have become firmly established in his new office by the end of 992.

How long was he allowed to exercise his prerogatives in peace? We do not know. Gerbert's letter of 997 asks for sympathy. It does not condole. But this letter was occasioned by a disquieting trip of Abbo to Rome, whence we may conclude that not only Gerbert, but Constantine as well, was kept on the alert by the

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[1] *Miracles de St. Benoit*, ii, c. 19 (p. 124).

[2] *Vita S. Abbonis*, by Aimoin, *loc. cit.*, col. 394.

[3] *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, etc., vol. x, p. 561 (diploma of 993).

[4] See F. Lot, *op. cit.*, p. 184, n. 1.

persistent hostility of that determined monk. For when the curtain rises again on the life of the ex-*scolasticus*, in the year 1001, it reveals to us the presence of a rival abbot at St. Mesmin, who had probably been put forward by the redoubtable Abbo, and who was certainly upheld by king Robert, ever under the influence of the monastic orders.[1] After a few brief years of comparative quiet, during which the harried Constantine may have found solace and relaxation in those authors of pagan antiquity whose very names were anathema at Fleury, the unfortunate friend of the great teacher and Pope is once more in subjection to his enemies. But this time he rouses himself to a more vigorous and a more effectual resistance. A letter, addressed by Abbo to the friars at St. Mesmin, and to Constantine "decano," defends Abbot Robert against the charges of the brethren, who had driven him and a favorite of his away from the abbey, and reproaches them for having slandered Robert to Foulques, bishop of Orleans.[2] Foulques had become bishop in 1003. Abbo was killed in 1004. The date of the letter and the revolt, which is its burden, can therefore be fixed within definite time limits.

For good or for ill then Constantine may be located at St. Mesmin from about 992 to 1004. Robert was restored to his abbey, and we may suppose that his return preluded by only a few months the departure of Constantine, whom he had supplanted but not overcome.[3] For another migration must have seemed advisable to the luckless "decanus," and some friendly influence must have soon opened the way for it. At St. Mesmin he had won the goodwill of a man who was respected for his learning and admired for his

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[1] See the charter by king Robert in favor of the monks of St. Mesmin and their abbot, Robert, given under date of April, 1001. *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, etc., vol. x, p. 579.

[2] Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. 139, col. 436–438.

[3] This Robert is the so-called Robert of Blois, who succeeded a monk of Fleury as abbot of St. Florent, near Saumur, as early as 988 perhaps, certainly before 994. He had united this charge with the abbacy of St. Mesmin by 1001—as we have seen—and finished his life at this latter post, dying in 1011. *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou* (in the Société de l'Histoire de France series), pp. 187–199; *Gallia Christiana*, vol. xiv, p. 625, and vol. viii, pp. 1531 ff.—He may be the Robert of St. Mesmin whom Gerbert denounces so bitterly in 988 (letter 136), have gone from there to St. Florent and afterwards returned to St. Mesmin (F. Lot, *Derniers Carolingiens*, p. 232, n. 4). In this case he would be an old enemy of Gerbert and his friends.

energy, the monk Letaldus.[1] An old friend of Abbo, as the latter's correspondence shows,[2] Letaldus could still discern some virtues in Bishop Arnulf of Orleans.[3] He had joined in the expulsion of Robert from St. Mesmin, and had been taken to task for it by Abbo, who even accused him of heading the revolution. On Robert's return he too left St. Mesmin and journeyed to the abbey of La Couture, near Le Mans, reaching it while Gosbert († 1007) was still its abbot.[4] His departure must have been preceded by Constantine's or shortly followed by it, for the next reference to Constantine which the documents contain is made by Letaldus himself. At a date unknown to us, the latter priest sends to the monks of the abbey of Nouaillé, near Poitiers, and to their abbot, Constantine, an account of miracles which were performed by the relics of St. Junian, the first abbot of Nouaillé, at a council held in the abbey of Charroux.[5]

In distant Nouaillé the old *scolasticus* of Fleury finds final refuge from monastic quarrels and ecclesiastical vengeance. Perhaps it was the last efforts of the dogged, uncompromising Abbo which had driven him far away from his fatherland, to which he had clung through so many bitter years of strife and oppression. Should this conjecture prove true he would have reached Nouaillé by the end of 1004. A gentle soul he may have been, certainly not a purposeful one, for he had fallen before every onslaught. Yet he clearly possessed the faculty of winning devoted friends, first Gerbert and his comrades at Rheims, afterwards Letaldus. Perhaps his temperament was preeminently sympathetic. Undoubtedly it was emotional, for he was both a poet and a musician. And this artistic temperament may have been the real cause of his trials, his defeats, and also the reason for the good fortunes which retrieved his successive disgraces. Some stronger will than his stood ever ready to rescue him from his enemies. As an administrator he probably was a failure. Even in the congenial surroundings of Nouaillé he could not cope with the situation, and the intervention of Odilo of Cluny eventually became necessary to reform the community.[6] Still our

[1] B. Hauréau, *Histoire littéraire du Maine*, vol. vii, pp. 188–200; Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. 137, col. 781 ff.

[2] Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. 139, col. 438, 439.

[3] Letaldus, *De Miraculis S. Maximini*, in Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. 137, col. 816.

[4] *Gallia Christiana*, vol. xiv, p. 470.

[5] Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. 137, col. 823.

[6] *Gallia Christiana*, vol. ii, p. 1240. Odilo's mission may have been performed in 1011.

judgment of his character might be different did we control all the facts. The slight basis for our inferences renders them inconclusive.

Besides Letaldus' narrative of the wonders worked by St. Junian's relics and Odilo's disciplinary visit to Nouaillé, the annals of the day furnish no hints regarding Constantine's last incumbency. Their silence may point to the calm which follows the storm. The generation of embittered adversaries, who made a shuttlecock of his career, had passed away with Arnulf and Abbo. Let us hope that the victim of their rivalries was allowed to exercise the duties of his new charge in peace. But one more mention of him has reached us, the note which records his death, in the year 1014, after a decade or less of pastorate at Nouaillé. And this note, which registers the rather unfavorable opinion of his contemporaries as to his general ability, shows that the poet of the school of Rheims maintained to the end his reputation as a musician.[1]

[1] Anno MXIV. Obiit Constantinus, abbas S. Juniani Nobiliaci, cui temporaneus extitit Letaudus, Abbo et alii multi; sed inter alios praecipuus musicus et cantor. Huic Constantino successit Imo. Chronicle of St. Maixent, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules* etc., vol. x, p. 232.—The text reads "Abba," which I change to "Abbo" for obvious reasons. Letaldus was never abbot, though a Letaldus had been abbot of St. Mesmin in 930.

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HERODOTUS' SOURCE FOR THE OPENING SKIRMISH AT PLATAEA

HENRY B. WRIGHT

XI.—Herodotus' Source for the Opening Skirmish at Plataea.

In Herodotus' narrative of the final land-engagement between the Greeks and the army of Xerxes a single incident of the first day's fighting has invariably arrested the attention of students of the campaign. This incident, both because of its wealth of circumstantial details, betraying the eye-witness, and also because of the atmosphere of unmistakable truthfulness which surrounds it, has been accorded, by well-nigh universal consent, a place in the vulgate tradition; yet the disproportionate emphasis which it receives in comparison with other features of the campaign is unusual and calls for explanation. The passage in question is the cavalry charge of Masistius.[1] Although but a minor phase of the campaign of Plataea, this incident receives fuller treatment by Herodotus than the final victory. Scholars have argued that it is accorded greater emphasis in the Herodotean narrative because of the part which Athenians played in it. But against this may be urged the objection that the story is in fact not unduly amplified or embellished to the glory of Athens,[2] and that it is of an entirely different character from the accounts of the two other events of the campaign in which the Athenians were prominent—the engagement with the Medizing Greeks[3] and the storming of the Persian camp.[4] Furthermore if we compare the Herodotean treatment of these three events in which Athenians participated with the Ephorean and Plutarchean versions, it will be noted that the episode under discussion is reproduced in the later tradition with very unimportant variation or accretion, aside from what can readily be accounted for by the individuality of Ephorus and Plutarch, while the engagement with the Medizing Greeks and the storming of the Persian camp suffer many changes and additions in fundamentals. What was it, then, one may well ask, which early crystallized this part of the tradition so as to render it proof against the transforming touch of Herodotus, and

[1] Hdt. ix, 20–25.

[2] The rest of the army is really the deciding factor in the engagement (Hdt. ix, 23).

[3] Hdt. ix, 61, 67.

[4] Hdt. ix, 70.

to allow it to pass practically unchallenged into the works of those two watchful Herodotean higher critics, Ephorus and Plutarch?

Busolt suggests[1] that Lampon, who was one of the leaders in the party which founded Thurii, may have been son of the Olympiodorus son of Lampon who led the Athenians to the rescue of the Megarians during this skirmish and that "the relationship of Herodotus to Lampon as a member of the colonizing party might well explain the circumstantial exactness with which the skirmish at the outposts is told"—in other words that Herodotus' source was an oral one. To this theory, however, several objections may be raised—

(a) Granted that Lampon who founded Thurii was the son of Olympiodorus the Athenian Cavalry leader, and that Herodotus discussed the battle with him, it is improbable that the story thus orally transmitted would have preserved its restrained and simple character either in the telling by Lampon who would have received it at second-hand from his father; or in the recasting by Herodotus, with whom a story which redounds to the glory of Athens seldom loses when he is allowed free rein.

(b) Granted that Lampon who founded Thurii was the son of Olympiodorus who led the charge, there is no evidence that Herodotus, although one of the colonizing party was on intimate terms with him.[2]

(c) But finally there is absolutely no proof, as Hauvette asserts,[3] that Lampon who founded Thurii was the son of Olympiodorus who led the charge. It has been assumed rightly enough that if Olympiodorus had had a son he would probably have been called Lampon after his grandfather; but this is very far from saying that he did have a son, and that he was called Lampon. In no one of the dozen or more places where Lampon founder of Thurii is mentioned in extant literature, is his father's name given.[4] That Lampon was a common name is clear from the fact that in the remaining chapters of the ninth book of Herodotus it is used on two other occasions of men who seem to have had no connection with the individual under discussion or with each other.[5]

[1] Griech. Geschichte ii, (2d ed.), p. 727, note 2.

[2] See Macan's note on Hdt. ix, 21. 16.

[3] *Hauvette*, Herodote, p. 458, note 1.

[4] *Dittenberger*, Sylloge i, no. 13; Thuc. v, 19. 24; Arist. Birds 521, 988; Diod. xii, 10: 3, 4; *Meineke*, Com. Frag. ii, Pt. i, pp. 43, 51; Plut. Per. vi; Plut. Mor. 812 D; Schol. Arist. Clouds 332; Birds 521; Peace 1084; Suidas, *Θουριομάντεις*.

[5] Lampon the Aeginetan (ix, 78–9); Lampon the Samian (ix, 90).

While no one of these objections completely overthrows Busolt's theory, the three taken together render it at least not proven and make it possible for the investigator to entertain another conjecture which does not contain a greater degree of improbability.

Recent Herodotean criticism, detecting a probable disguised source reference in the narrative, is inclined to assign to Herodotus a literary, rather than an oral source for his account of the skirmish.[1] This source must have been well enough known to render unsafe for Herodotus any extravagant embellishment or transformation of his material, and also to forestall changes at a later date by Ephorus and Plutarch. Macan[2] suggests Dionysius of Miletus; but, because of the utter absence of evidence, this theory cannot be established or refuted. An accidental reading of the story of the cavalry charge in Herodotus in connection with the accounts of Salamis and Psyttalia in the *Persians* of Aeschylus first led to the conjecture that we might find Herodotus' source for the former in a lost play of Aeschylus. In simplicity and directness, in power of vivid narration, in absence of personal names and of anecdotal addenda the spirit of the two narratives was strikingly similar.

It cannot be denied that the episode of Masistius, as related by Herodotus has several marked epic-dramatic elements—more even than we should strictly require in a historical drama. There is first of all the great central figure of Masistius—"whom the Greeks call Makistios"[3]—gorgeously attired with golden cuirass and purple cloak, as impenetrably armed as a Homeric chieftain. Forward he rides, a figure pre-eminent for stature and beauty, mounted on a Nesaian steed, whose bridle is gold and who is in all other respects splendidly caparisoned. Then we have the epic-dramatic taunt to the woman-hearted Greeks, and the despairing but poetic appeal of the sore-pressed Megarians to the Athenians. Soon after the heroic response of the 300 Athenian volunteers—whose number is a striking echo of Thermopylae—there follows the dramatic overthrow of the proud chieftain, a victim of the horse and armor in which he trusted. Finally mid the tragic lament of the Persian host, whose cries of grief are heard throughout all Boeotia, we view the removal by the Greeks of the body of Masistius on a wagon

[1] "It is generally admitted that 'the Hellenes' who had, according to Herodotus, turned the name of Masistios into Makistios were writers." *Macan.* Hdt. Bks. vii–ix, Vol. i, Pt. i, p. lxxv.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Perhaps "the giant"; cf. Macan, note to ix, 20. 3.

suspiciously like the ἐκκύκλημα of tragedy. Surely this excessive lamentation and the problematic wagon adapt themselves much better to actors on the stage whom the conventionalities of the drama allow to express in words and by mechanical devices those feelings and actions which in actual life are for the most part suppressed—than to blood-stained warriors on the field of battle.

The first question which presents itself is whether there is evidence of any lost tragedy by Aeschylus which could have commemorated the cavalry-battle. We naturally turn at once to the tetralogy of which the *Persians* is the central drama. According to the hypothesis this tetralogy consisted of three tragedies, the *Phineus*, *Persians* and *Glaucus*,[1] with the *Prometheus* as satyr-play. Of these the *Persians* is preserved entire. Only scattered fragments of the other three remain.

Is there a unity of theme running through this tetralogy, as is the case in the *Oresteia*, and if so how is the *Glaucus* to be related to the whole? Over this point probably as much controversy has been waged as on any problem relating to Aeschylus, for its solution carries with it the solution of another most fundamental problem—whether all of Aeschylus' plays were grouped in unified tetralogies[2]. After nearly a century of heated discussion there now seems to be fair unanimity of opinion among those who would see some connection among the dramas— (a) that the *Phineus*, a sort of prophetic prelude to the Persian wars, dealing with the first of the clashes between the Greek and the Barbarian—the rescue of King Phineus from the Harpies by the Greeks of the Argonautic expedition—contained the prophecy of the overthrow of the Persians in the campaign of Xerxes, and that it is this prophecy which is alluded to but not further amplified (because it had been discussed in the *Phineus*) by Darius in the *Persians*[3]; (b) that the *Persians*, which is concerned with the victory of Salamis and the retreat of Xerxes himself, the great Athenian accomplishment of the war, fulfils only part of this prophecy: (c) and that the *Prometheus Purcaeus*, the closing satyr-drama, must have referred in some way

[1] It was Professor Hermann of Leipzig who first rescued the *Glaucus Potnieus*, now by common consent recognized as the third play of this tetralogy, from the oblivion into which Casaubon had cast it. The position which he maintained regarding the drama against overwhelming opposition seems to have fully justified itself (Opus. ii, 59).

[2] The *Persians* is probably the oldest of the extant plays. Unity of theme proved here would go far to establish unity of theme throughout.

[3] vv. 739–741. 800 ff.

to the rekindling on Greek altars, after the defeat of Mardonius at Plataea, of the sacred fire which had been polluted by the barbarians [1]. Regarding the *Glaucus* which came after the *Persians* and before the *Prometheus* there still exists the widest difference of opinion.

Did the *Glaucus* deal with any phase of Plataea? There is much to favor this view. Granted that the rest of the tetralogy has the common theme of the struggle of Greece with Asia; that only part of the oracle of Phineus is fulfilled in the *Persians*; that in the *Persians* itself, which immediately precedes the *Glaucus*, there is a direct foreshadowing reference to Plataea [2]; and that the satyr-play, which follows, portrays an event which occurred immediately after Plataea, and it would seem indeed strange if the *Glaucus* was not in some way connected with the battle itself. And although Salamis, the theme of the *Persians*, was the great Athenian triumph of the Second Persian War, it must be remembered that the poet could not neglect to present some aspect of Plataea, the final and decisive conflict—even if it were but to serve as a foil to Salamis—if he pretended to give an artistically complete presentation of the struggle between Europe and Asia.

Internal evidence from the extant fragments [3] supports the view that the drama was concerned with a battle. If so the most natural inference would be Plataea. Fragment 37—"The contest does not wait for those who are left behind"—applies as well to a battle as to a chariot-race. Fragment 38—"Chariot was piled upon chariot, corpse upon corpse, horse upon horse"—which is altogether too wholesale to possibly refer to the single death of Glaucus by his mares, and which cannot refer to Himera,[4] is entirely applicable to Plataea; for both Aeschylus [5] and Herodotus [6] state that chariots were included in the cavalry of Xerxes. Mardonius retained *all* this arm of the service when Xerxes retreated and *all* the horse was sent into the skirmish. Fragment 40—"Ominous lamentations" fits excellently [7]; but it is when we examine Fragment 39—"They

[1] Plutarch emphasizes this event (*Aristides* xx. 4–6). One of the officials at the altar of Zeus at Plataea bore the title of "fire-bringer" (C. I. G. G. S. Vol. i, No. 1667).

[2] *Persians* vv. 816–22.

[3] *Wecklein*, Aeschyli Fabulae Vol. i. Auct. (1893) pp. 492–4.

[4] The Carthaginians had no cavalry or chariots in the battle (Diod. xi. 20. 2).

[5] *Persians* vv. 45. 46.

[6] vii. 86 + viii. 113 + ix. 20.

[7] Hdt. ix. 24.

dragged him up, wolf-like, taking hold beneath the arm-pits as two wolves bear off a body" that we meet a difficulty. This had been referred to the fight over the bodies of either Mardonius[1] or Masistius[2] until Wecklein[3] noted a fact which had been overlooked by preceding scholars—that the scholiast states explicitly that this action took place over the body of Glaucus himself, and therefore, he argued, the fragment cannot refer to Plataea. Are we to reply that the text is corrupt and that we should read *ἐν Πλαταιᾳ* for *περὶ Γλαύκου*? If not, how is the chariot race and destruction of Glaucus of Potnia to be related to the battle of Plataea?

The town of Potnia in Boeotia lay between Thebes and Plataea, and was probably within the Persian lines during the entire campaign of 479 B. C. It is practically certain that Persian forces passed through this town just before their opening cavalry skirmish with the Greeks. Here was a local shrine of Glaucus who according to Strabo[4] had met his death at Potnia, torn in pieces and devoured by his own mares. There were many stories current in Greek literature to account for the madness of these mares.[5] Which one Aeschylus followed we have no direct evidence. But according to Frazer,[6] it is in Pausanias that we should expect to find the Aeschylean version, since Aeschylus is the only tragic or comic poet to whose authority Pausanias appeals repeatedly. According to Pausanias[7] there was a sacred well at Potnia, and the horses which drank from this well went mad. According to Pausanias also[8] the ghost of Glaucus haunted certain parts of Greece causing horses to shy.

Now it is at least a remarkable coincidence that the only event in the campaign of Plataea which Aeschylus could well have selected for presentation before an Athenian audience—the defeat of Masistius by the Athenian volunteers—was decided by the wholly unexpected uprearing of a horse. It seems at least probable too from the general evidence in both Aeschylus[9] and Herodotus[10] that the local shrine of Glaucus, god of horse-terrifiers, at Potnia, had been

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[1] *E. A. J. Ahrens*, Aeschyli Tragoediae (1842), p. 196.

[2] *Oberdick*, Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gym. xix (1868), p. 269.

[3] *Teuffel Wecklein*—Äschylos Perser (4th Ed. 1901) Intr. p. 15.

[4] ix, 2. 24. p. 409 C.

[5] *Roscher*, Lex. d. griech. u. röm. Mythol., p. 1689.

[6] Pausanias' Description of Greece, Vol i, p. lxxiii.

[7] ix, 8. 1.

[8] vi, 20. 9.

[9] *Persians*, vv. 809–15.

[10] viii, 109; vi. 101; ix. 13: cf. also Polybius v. 10.

included in those desecrated by the Persians. Given an outraged priest arriving within the Greek lines in flight from the desecrated shrine of Glaucus at Potnia, to tell by way of prologue to the drama,—or as first act if you will,—the story of the life and death [1] of the hero whose cult he served and whose worship has just been wantonly insulted by the proud Masistius; follow this with the moral reflections of the chorus: then given a messenger's narrative of the overthrow of the same irreverent chieftain in the battle with the Athenians through the agency of the maddening waters of the God's well, where his steed had unwittingly been watered; and given finally the body of the dead chieftain brought in on the ἐκκύκλημα before the avenged priest, a warning both to individuals and to nations against insolence and pride—and we have the theme for a tragedy not only similar in structure to the *Persians*, with several loosely related acts [2] almost like little plays within a play, but also pervaded with the moral teaching of the overthrow of ὕβρις so characteristic of Aeschylus.

Those who have hitherto associated the *Glaucus* with Plataea have assumed that the drama included the whole of the engagement. But it is clear that, if Aeschylus was to treat Plataea on the stage before an Athenian audience, the cavalry battle with Masistius was really the only available phase. Plataea was a two weeks campaign, not a single decisive engagement like Salamis. The final victory, due largely to strategy, went to Sparta's credit [3] and offered no theme for Athenian ears, especially after the extravagant claims of the Spartan general on the tripod. But the clash with Masistius,[4] the first defeat of the land forces of the king in the entire war, in which 300 Athenian volunteers had driven back the pride of the king's cavalry, was in Athenian eyes a match for, if not superior to the heroic stand of Leonidas and his 300 Spartans at Thermopylae, the most dramatic event of the war. This victory seems to have aroused so much local pride at Athens as to have been commemorated there both in picture [5] and in poetry,[6]

[1] Here would be the place for Fragment 39 if it refers to the moment when the infuriated mares seized the body of their prostrate master Glaucus.

[2] *von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff*, Die Perser des Aischylos (Hermes 32: 382).

[3] This Aeschylus with his broad pan-Hellenic view-point frankly admitted (Persians v. 817).

[4] 'Now that Xerxes was gone why was not a victory over Masistius nearly as great as one over Mardonius'.

[5] *Macan*, note to ix, 22. 11.

[6] *Bergk*, P. L. G. Vol. 3 (3d ed.); p. 1154 (No. 107); p. 1172 (No. 143).

and the undue emphasis put upon it goes a long way toward explaining the perverted but persistent theory in the age of the orators that the Athenians were the victors at Plataea.

We cannot expect to prove the connection between Herodotus' narrative and a conjectured messenger's narrative in the *Glaucus* by the detection of Aeschylean diction or structure in Herodotus, in spite of several fascinating coincidences.[1] A comparison of the existing accounts of Salamis in Aeschylus and Herodotus, which all admit are related [2] but which show few verbal coincidences establishes this. Rather must we rest the case on the test submitted by Macan [3]:—"The debt of Herodotus to Aischylos is admitted, though it concerns the spirit rather than the letter, the moral rather than the material of the story." We shall certainly agree that the spirit and the moral of this episode as related by Herodotus are thoroughly Aeschylean.

And finally, if the narrative of Herodotus looks back for its source to a messenger's narrative in the *Glaucus*, we not only locate the scene of this drama,[4] but we dispose at once of a host of problems which have given concern to the historian. We no longer need to speculate—"What became of the noble Nesaian charger? was he led to his master's grave and perhaps sacrificed there? or did he escape with the squadron after his master's fall? or die of his wound on the field?"; we do not seek to learn "how the Greeks understood the taunt of the Persians since they spoke in an unknown tongue,[5] what was the ultimate destination of the wagon, or what became of the corpse?".[6] These questions which the historian must ask and answer,[7] the dramatist is privileged to leave unsettled when

[1] Cf. Frag. 37, with Hdt. viii, 59. The appeal of the Megarians could with a little ingenuity be rearranged in trimeters. *300* Greek ships according to Aeschylus repulsed the kings fleet at Salamis (*Persians* v. 339)—*300* Athenians repulse the cavalry here.

[2] *Wecklein*, Über die Tradition der Perserkriege, p. 11. *Sihler*, On Herodotus's and Aeschylus's Accounts of the Battle of Salamis. (Trans. Am. Phil. Asso. 1877, p. 109 ff.) *E. Meyer*, Forsch. ii, 205.

[3] Hdt. vii–ix; Vol. i, Pt. 1, p. lxxiv.

[4] The body of the dead chieftain is brought into the Greek camp on the ἐκκύκλημα.

[5] Darius, Atossa and Xerxes are of course made to speak Greek in the *Persians*.

[6] Macan, notes on ix, 20, 8; 25, 4, 5.

[7] It is interesting that Herodotus is deeply concerned over what became of the body of Mardonius (ix, 84) although he never so much as mentions the disposal of the corpse of Masistius.

the chorus makes its final exit with the corpse on the ἐκκύκλημα; for they are events which take place "behind the scenes." We may well afford to leave these questions of unessential details unsettled, if we may believe that the residue of the story rests upon the authority of one who was not only certainly a contemporary, but also probably a participator in both Salamis and Plataea.

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NOTES ON MILTON'S ODE ON THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY

ALBERT S. COOK

XII.—Notes on Milton's Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity.

(L. = Lockwood, *Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of John Milton.*)

1. **This the happy morn.** Perhaps a reminiscence of Drummond of Hawthornden, 'Phœbus, arise' 15 (*Muses' Library* 1. 70): 'This is that happy morn.' But see also Spenser, *F.Q.* 4. 2. 41:

> Borne at one burden in one happie morne;
> Thrise happie mother, and thrise happie morne.

Cf. 167, 'from this happy day.'

2. **Son of Heaven's eternal King.** Cf. *cælesti semine Regem*, *El.* 6. 81, quoted in note on 19.

3. **virgin mother.** *P.L.* 12. 368: 'a Virgin is his mother'; *P.L.* 12. 379: 'Virgin Mother, hail!' Add *P.R.* 1. 134, 138, 239; 4. 500; *N.O.* 237.

4. **did bring.** For the sake of the rime; cf. 5, 75, 94.

5. **holy sages.** The Hebrew prophets. Cf. *P.L.* 12. 243; *P.R.* 3. 178; 4. 502–3.

6. **deadly forfeit.** *Deadly* in the sense of 'causing death' (L.); *forfeit*, 'penalty for trespass.' *P.L.* 3. 221 has *deadly forfeiture*. For the thought, cf. *P.L.* 3. 202 ff.; 12. 395–429. See such Biblical passages as Ps. 49. 7; Mk. 8. 37; 10. 45; and such discussions as that in Hastings' *Dict. Bible*, s. v. Ransom.

release. 'Remit' (L.).

The 'Lord General Fairfax' (1612–1671) to whom Milton addressed a sonnet has an unpublished poem, *To the Holy Ghost* (MS. Fairfax 40), a copy of which I have been permitted to see, through the courtesy of my colleague, Professor E. B. Reed. Line 24 speaks of Christ in heaven as planning

> T' Release the Forfeit and pay the Debt.

This looks as though Fairfax had our line in mind.

7. **with.** Like Lat. *apud*; cf. *apud Patrem.*

work us a perpetual peace. With *work . . . peace* Verity compares Shakespeare, *Temp.* 1. 124, 'if you can . . . work the peace,' etc. For the phraseology, as well as the thought, cf. Eph. 2. 15, 16; Col. 1. 20.

8. **light unsufferable.** A favorite thought of Milton's with respect to God; cf. *P.L.* 3. 3–5 ('unapproachèd light'), 375–382. Keightley says: 'An allusion to Phil. 2. 7, a favorite text with him at all times.

unsufferable. So *P.L.* 6. 867; but *insufferably*, *P.L.* 9. 1084.

9. **far-beaming.** Cf. *P.L.* 6. 768: 'Far off his coming shone.'

10. **wont.** This verb has the same form, *wont*, as present (*S.A.* 1487), preterit, and past participle; but the past participle as adjective is generally *wonted* (so 79, 196). It takes the prepositional infinitive, or, exceptionally, the simple infinitive (*P.L.* 1. 764). Another instance of the preterit is *P.L.* 6. 93.

council-table. The notion of a heavenly council is expressed or implied in Gen. 1. 26; 3. 22, 24; 6. 1; 11. 1, 6, 7; Job 1. 6 ff.; 2. 2; 5. 1; 15. 8, 15; 28. 7; Ps. 11. 4; 18. 6; 29. 1, 6; 89. 6, 8; 111. 1; Jer. 23. 18; Micah 1. 2. Cf. Gordon, *Early Traditions of Genesis*, p. 287.

Other Biblical verses, several from the New Testament, are to a somewhat similar effect: Dan. 7. 9, 22; 8. 26; Matt. 19. 28; Luke 22. 30; 1 Cor. 6. 3; Rev. 20. 4; and the Apocryphal Wisdom 3. 8. See Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, p. 435, and Swete on Rev. 20. 4.

The Jewish commentators favor this conception of a heavenly council; Taylor, on *Pirke Aboth* 2. 2, quotes *Sanhed.* 38 b: 'The Holy One, blessed is He, does nothing without consulting the *familia superna*, for it is said (Dan. 4. 17), "This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones."' Cf. Sanday, in Hastings, *Dict. Bible* 2. 206.

Of course the Bible gives no warrant for the conception of a council-*table*. The word itself was not known in English till 1621, though council-*board* occurs as early as 1591.

Milton exemplifies the thought at much greater length in *P.L.* 3. 80–343 (see esp. 212 ff., 341). He will hardly have been much indebted to the epic poets: for example, Homer, *Il.* 1. 533; 20. 4 ff.; cf. 4. 1; 6. 2.

See note on *Trinal Unity*, below.

11. **midst.** Between God the Father and the Holy Spirit. Cf. *P.L.* 5. 892; 7. 587–8. *Midst* here means 'midmost.' Cf. *P.L.* 10. 528–9: 'still greatest he the midst, Now Dragon grown.'

At this time Milton seems to have been an unquestioning Trinitarian. Cf. *El.* 6. 84, quoted in note on 19.

Trinal Unity. Milton is probably indebted to Phineas Fletcher, *Purple Island* 1. 302:

> That Trine-one with Himself in councell sits.

Fletcher (b. 1582) was a Cambridge man from 1600 till 1616, and gained the reputation of a poet while at the University. The *Purple Island*, though not printed till 1633, was probably written before the death of Elizabeth, as the references to her in the poem, and Fletcher's characterization of the poems published in 1633 as 'these raw essays of my very unripe yeares, and almost childehood,' sufficiently show. Milton may therefore have read them in manuscript by 1629. Fletcher's master, Spenser, has the word *trinal*, *Hymn of Heavenly Love* 57–8:

> There they in their trinall triplicities
> About him wait.

Cf. Dante, *Par.* 24. 140:

> Credo una essenza sì una e sì trina.

12. **laid aside.** George Herbert has a kind of parallel (*Christmas* 9–10):

> O Thou, whose glorious yet contracted light
> Wrapt in night's mantle, stole into a manger.

See note on 17.

13. **courts.** Cf. *P.L.* 5. 889.

everlasting day. See Rev. 21. 23, 25; 22. 5.

14. **darksome.** Hales compares *unlightsome*, *P.L.* 7. 355.

house of mortal clay. The same expression occurs, according to Todd, in *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598), Bk. 3, Sat. 8. For the currency of the idea in English literature, see my note on l. 73 of *The Dream of the Rood* (Oxford, 1905). Verity compares *Passion* 15–17. Add *P.R.* 4. 599.

15. **Heavenly Muse.** Cf. *P.L.* 1. 6; 3. 10; 7. 1 ff.

16. **afford.** Give, offer (L.).

present. Cf. *dona*, *El.* 6. 87, quoted in note on 19.

17. **Hast thou no verse, no hymn.** This may be an indication of an influence exerted upon Milton by George Herbert, in whose *Christmas* the following lines occur (15–16):

> The shepherds sing, and shall I silent be?
> My God, no hymne for thee?

Professor Palmer, the editor of Herbert's English works, would date *Christmas* at least as early as 1628. In a private letter to me (Oct. 13, 1908), he says: 'As *Christmas* appears in this [the Williams] MS., it must have been written in or before 1628. The style, the mention of hunting, and the fact that it celebrates a Church festival,

lead me to think it was written several years earlier, though this is by no means sure.' Herbert was fifteen years older than Milton. Since Milton was matriculated in 1625, and Herbert did not resign the Public Oratorship till 1627, the greater poet may well have seen the lesser, especially as, according to Herbert himself (letter to Sir John Danvers) the Public Orator was a considerable person in the University, as Herbert was highly connected, and as he had more than once been honored by the special commendations of King James. As we know that in 1617 Herbert was accustomed to ride from Cambridge to Newmarket (letter to Sir John Danvers), and as *Christmas* begins with a reference to riding, this might lead one to conjecture that *Christmas* is of about this date. But it is enough to know that the poem antedates Milton's, and might well enough have been seen by him in manuscript, or that parts of it might have been repeated in his hearing.

For other parallels between the two poems, see notes on 12 and 72.

18. **abode.** The rime is imperfect. Perhaps no other of Milton's poems has so large a proportion of defective rimes as this. Those of the following list vary in badness, some of them merely illustrating varieties of license found throughout modern English literature. I give in each case the line-number which will call attention to the defect: 8, 9, 18, 36, 44, 48, 57, 58, 66, 85, 88, 95, 97, 100, 108, 116, 118, 121, 137, 146, 147, 154, 163, 166, 188, 196, 201, 204, 212, 244. Milton rimes *hearth* (190) with *earth*, as in *Il P.* 82 with *mirth*; *mourn* (204) with *horn*, as in *Ps.* 88. 27 with *forlorn*.

19. **Now.** This was approximately the time, according to *Eleg.* 6, when he actually formed the conception of the Ode; cf. ll. 81–88:

> Paciferum canimus cælesti semine Regem,
> Faustaque sacratis sæcula pacta libris;
> Vagitumque Dei, et stabulantem paupere tecto
> Qui suprema suo cum Patre regna colit;
> Stelliparemque polum, modulantesque æthere turmas,
> Et subito elisos ad sua fana deos.
> Dona quidem dedimus Christi natalibus illa;
> *Illa sub auroram lux mihi prima tulit.*

Sun's team. Referring to the steeds of Apollo; cf. *night-steeds*, 236. Similar allusions are found in 84, *axletree*; *Com.* 96, *axle*; *P.L.* 5. 139, *wheels*; 10. 671, *reins*, etc.

20. **took.** Milton has the past part. *taken* (4 times), *ta'en* (twice), *took* (3 times—here; *Com.* 558; *On Shak.* 12—the last being in rime).

print. Suggested by *untrod*.

21. **spangled.** Cf. *P.L.* 7. 383–4: 'thousand thousand stars, . . . spangling the hemisphere'; *Com.* 1003, 'far above in spangled sheen' (where *L.* interprets *spangled* as 'set with stars'), and *Lyc.* 170–1, of the day-star, 'with new-spangled ore Flames in the forehead of the morning sky.' Cf. P. Fletcher, *Purple Island* 7. 1–2:

> The rising morn lifts up his orient head,
> And spangled heav'ns in golden robes invests.

Grosart remarks that 'spangled' is a frequent word with Fletcher.

host. Milton imparts great beauty to his poem by stimulating the reader's imagination to conceive of the stars as animate; cf. 69 ff., 125 ff., 240 ff. While he generally uses *host* for an army or multitude of men or angels, yet he has 'starry host,' *P.L.* 4. 606:

> Hesperus, that led
> The starry host, rode brightest.

Of Satan, in his character as Lucifer, it is said (5. 708–10):

> His countenance, as the morning-star that guides
> The starry flock, allured them, and with lies
> Drew after him the third part of Heaven's host,

where there is an evident allusion to Rev. 12. 4, 'drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth,' while Milton as evidently by 'Heaven's host' means angels.

Again, the dance of the angels is (*P.L.* 5. 620 ff.) a

> Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere
> Of planets and of fixed in all her wheels
> Resembles nearest; mazes intricate,
> Eccentric, intervolved, yet regular
> Then most when most irregular they seem;
> And in their motions harmony divine
> So smooths her charming tones that God's own ear
> Listens delighted.

It is by such approximations as these that Milton conveys the sense of an interchangeability between the host of stars and the host of angels—in either case the host of heaven. In *P.L.* 1. 635, 'be witness all the host of Heaven,' it is difficult to tell which is meant. Satan can hardly be appealing to the legions of unfallen spirits, nor is he likely to call his own associates the host of Heaven, since he has just said that their exile had emptied Heaven, and a moment after speaks of Him 'who reigns Monarch in Heaven'—

where they are not. Why should he not invoke the stars, as, in Deut. 4. 26; 30. 19, heaven and earth are called to witness? Cf. Shakespeare, *Haml.* 1. 5. 92.

In the Bible, on which Milton is dependent for the term, it now designates angels, and now stars. Thus in 1 Kings 22. 19, angels are meant: 'I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the *host of heaven* standing by Him, on his right hand and on his left.' In Deut. 4. 19, on the other hand, the reference is to stars: 'Lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the *host of heaven*, shouldest be driven to worship them, and serve them.' See also Neh. 9. 6.

The analogy between the two rests partly upon the fact that both angels and stars are conceived as occupying heaven, the dwelling-place of God; that the movements and relative positions of the stars seem characterized by the order and regularity that one associates with the idea of a splendid army; and perhaps that meteors, conceived of as 'falling stars,' seem like messengers from above, descending upon some divine errand.

An illustration or two will make this clearer. In the following verse (Isa. 40. 26; cf. Ps. 147. 4), the stars are referred to as if they were marshaled like soldiers: 'Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, *that bringeth out their host by number: he calleth them all by names* by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power; *not one faileth.*' Cf. Ecclus. 43. 10: 'At the commandment of the Holy One they will stand in their order, and never faint in their watches.' Similarly Shelley, in a canceled passage of the *Adonais*, speaks of 'the armies of the golden stars'; and Spenser refers to their ranks (*Epith.* 286–9). To him the evening star is a golden lamp of love,

> That all the *host of heaven* in rankes doost lead.

In the following lines (*P.L.* 4. 555–7) the flight of an angel is likened to the descent of a shooting star:

> Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even
> On a sunbeam, swift as a shooting star
> In autumn thwarts the night.

So *Com.* 80:

> Swift as the sparkle of a glancing star
> I shoot from heaven.

Cf. Fletcher, *Christ's Victory*:

When, like the stars, the singing angels shot
To earth, and heaven awaked all his eyes
To see another Sun at midnight rise.

At times the stars seem, like angels, to be ministers of God's purposes, or to rejoice in His deeds. Thus Judg. 5. 20: 'They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.'

In Job 38. 7, it is generally thought that the 'morning stars' and the 'sons of God' are identical, though this has been questioned: 'When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.'[1]

Finally, we have in Rev. 9. 1, 11 the actual identification of angel with star: 'I saw a *star* fall from heaven unto the earth: and to *him* was given the key of the bottomless pit.' 'And they had a king over them, which is the *angel* of the bottomless pit.' In Jude 13, ungodly men are called '*wandering stars*, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.'

Analogous to these conceptions are those of the *Book of Enoch*. Thus, 14. 13–16: 'And what I saw there was horrible—seven stars . . . like spirits. . . . The angel said: "This is the place where heaven and earth terminate; it serves for a prison for the stars of heaven and the host of heaven. And the stars which roll over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of God before their rising, because they did not come forth at the appointed time."' Cf. also (ed. Charles) 21. 1–12; 82. 9–20; 86. 1, 3; etc.

Among the Greeks the stars were believed to be animate. 'That the stars were divine beings was,' says Aristotle, 'a traditional belief among the Greeks.' In his *Nicomachean Ethics* 6. 7, he declares: 'There exist things far more divine than is the human, such as are, to take a most obvious example, those heavenly bodies of whose harmony the universe is composed.' According to Zeller (*Arist.* 1. 507) it is for this reason that 'he attributes a priceless value to the smallest iota of knowledge which we can boast to have acquired about them.' Cf. *De Cœlo* 1. 1; 2. 12; *Part. An.* 1. 5 init.; *Met.* 6 (E). 1. 18. 1026 a. 18. For the souls of the stars, cf. Aristophanes, *Peace* 832; Plato, *Rep.* 621 B, and the other references in Dieterich, *Nekyia*, p. 24, n. 1. The general subject of the stars as animate is treated by Piper, *Mythologie der Christlichen Kunst* 2. 202 ff., with references ranging from Anaximander, through Origen, to Dante. Two quotations from Ovid are representative:

[1] On the early Hebrew and Babylonian beliefs concerning the identity of stars with angels, see Gunkel, *Genesis*, pp. 99, 100.

Met. 1. 73:

> Astra tenent cæleste solum formæque deorum.

Fast. 3. 111–2:

> Libera currebant et inobservata per annum
> Sidera; *constabat sed tamen esse deos.*

The belief as to the influence of the stars upon human affairs held, for example, by Dante, deserves mention in this connection.

keep watch. Cf. Milton's master, Spenser, *F.Q.* 2. 8. 2. 6–7:

> They for us fight, they watch and dewly ward,
> And their bright squadrons round about us plant.

Verity compares *Vac. Ex.* 40, 'the spheres of watchful fire'; *Com.* 113, 'in their nightly watchful spheres,' and *El.* 5. 38, 'excubias agitant sidera.' Add *P.L.* 9. 156; 11. 128, etc.

squadrons bright. Cf. *P.L.* 4. 977, 'the angelic squadron bright'; 6. 16, 'embattled squadrons bright'; 1. 356; 4. 863; 12. 367. Perhaps from Drummond of Hawthornden, *Hymn of the Ascension* 103–4:

> And, arched in squadrons bright,
> Greet their great Victor in his Capitol.

But cf. above, under *keep watch,* the quotation from Spenser.

Thus Claudian employs *acies* (*Prob. et Olyb.* 22–3):

> Haud secus ac tacitam Luna regnante per Arcton
> *Siderea* cedunt *acies.*

And thus Prudentius employs *globus* (*Cath.* 12. 30):

> Quod ut refulsit, ceteri
> Cessere *signorum globi.*

Sannazaro has a more detailed description (*De Partu Virg.* 1. 20–23):

> Quam mille acies, quæque ætheris alti
> Militia est, totidem currus, tot signa, tubæque,
> Tot litui comitantur, ovantique agmina gyro
> Adglomerant.

23. **wisards.** Wise men. This is the very word which Sir John Cheke employs in rendering Matt. 2. 2; his use may have guided Milton (see his *Sonn.* 11. 12). Spenser, as has frequently been noted, also employs the word: *Hymn Heav. Beauty* 168; *F.Q.* 1. 4. 12; 3. 1. 16; 4. 12. 2; see esp. *F.Q.* 5. Int. 8. 1–2:

> And if to those Ægyptian wisards old,
> Which in star-read were wont have best insight.

Moody (Cambridge edition of Milton, p. 6) says that lines 22 and 23 'seem . . . certainly caught from' Fletcher's *Christ's Victory and Triumph*; but the 'wizards' are there called 'sophies.'

According to the orthodox view, it was about two years after the birth of Christ when the wise men came to Bethlehem. The notion, which gained wide currency, that they came immediately after His birth, was that of heretics and writers of apocrypha. But now and again the orthodox Fathers would forget themselves. Thus Epiphanius, in his treatise on various heresies, after professing the orthodox view (chap. 51), relapses into the popular conception near the end of his work. Cf. Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der Altchristlichen Kunst*, pp. 208–9. Milton adheres to this view in his later poems. Thus *P.L.* 12. 360–2:

> yet at his birth a star,
> Unseen before in heaven, proclaims him come,
> And guides the eastern sages.

P.R. 1. 249–50:

> A star, not seen before, in heaven appearing,
> Guided the Wise Men thither from the east,

where 'thither' means 'to the manger.'

haste. This is introduced to motivate lines 24 and 26.

odors sweet. Not 'frankincense and myrrh' (Verity, Lockwood), but frankincense alone, which Milton (*P.L.* 12. 363; *P.R.* 1. 251) calls 'incense.'

prevent. Forestall. In this sense also in *Ps.* 88. 56:

> And up to thee my prayer doth hie
> Each morn, and thee *prevent*,

where the Authorized Version also has *prevent*: 'and in the morning shall my prayer *prevent* thee.' Other instances may be found in the English Bible.

ode. Later called 'hymn.'

25. **lowly.** In two successive lines Milton has two of the three words used in the Prayer Book: 'with an humble, lowly, and penitent heart.' Here, however, *lowly* is an adverb.

blessèd feet. Perhaps a reminiscence of Shakespeare, *1 Henry IV* 1. 1. 25.

27. **quire.** Cf. *P.L.* 12. 366–7:

> They gladly thither haste, and by a quire
> Of squadroned angels hear his carol sung;

P.R. 1. 242–4:

> At thy nativity a glorious quire
> Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung
> To shepherds, watching at their folds by night.

28. In allusion to Isa. 6. 6, 7. Milton twice refers to it in *The Reason of Church Government* (*Prose Works*, ed. Bohn, 2. 481, 494),

29. **winter wild.** This is, of course, not historically justified. By some writers the date is supposed to have been fixed to accord with that of the Roman Saturnalia, but a better explanation is that the worship of Mithra, known as the Sol Invictus, or the Unconquered Sun, recognized the winter solstice (Dec. 25 in the Roman calendar) as the birthday of the Sun, because from this point he proceeds to grow in power (at least in northern climes). As Thomson says (*Winter* 868–9):

> The welcome sun, just verging up at first,
> By small degrees extends the swelling curve.

Another explanation proceeds on the basis of a calculation forward from March 25, regarded as the date of the conception; but this is again referable to the sun, since that is the approximate date of the vernal equinox. Astronomy, then, and not history, is responsible for the choice of the date for Christmas. This fact invests much of Milton's imagery with natural significance. Cf. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (London, 1903), pp. 258 ff.; the admirable work of Cumont, *Textes et Monuments Figurés Relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* 1. 342, note 4; and the *Catholic Encyclopædia* 3. 724 ff.

But the assignment of Christmas to December 25, while it suggests the winter of northern latitudes, does not necessarily connote severe cold. The earliest suggestion of this that I have found is in Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo III in Nativitate Domini*: 'Hieme natus est. Numquid credimus casu factum ut in *tanta aeris inclementia* . . . nasceretur?'

In the *York Plays*, ed. Toulmin Smith, p. 114, Joseph thus soliloquizes:

> A! lorde, what the wedir is colde!
> Þe fellest freese þat euere I felyd.

These plays may possibly have been known to Milton, though after this date. This conjecture is based upon the following facts: (1) The manuscript of the *York Plays* has, written on a fly-leaf, 'H. Fairfax's book, 1695'; (2) This was Henry Fairfax, a relative of the Lord General Fairfax to whom Milton inscribed a sonnet; (3) The

Lord General Fairfax, four years before Milton wrote this sonnet, namely, in 1644, saved many manuscripts from destruction at the blowing up of St. Mary's Tower; he devoted his leisure chiefly to literature, was a man of strong literary tastes, and bequeathed twenty-eight valuable manuscripts to the Bodleian Library (*DNB.* 18. 146 ff.). As Milton and he were contemporaries at Cambridge (he was born in 1612), and as Milton again praises him in the *Second Defense* (*Prose Works*, ed. Bohn, 1. 286–7), it is not at all improbable that Milton, though several years after the composition of the *Ode*, may have seen this manuscript. Cf. note on 6.

In the *Coventry Pageant* (Marriott's *English Miracle Plays*, p. 66) there are several allusions to the cold:

> And this nyght hit ys soo cold.
> . . . . . .
> Thatt in the wynturs nyght soo cold,
> A chyld of meyden borne be he wold.
> . . . . . .
> In wentur ny the schortist dey.

See also the beginning of the Towneley *Secunda Pastorum* (Hemingway, *English Nativity Plays*: *Yale Studies in English* Nr. 38, p. 188.)

In the *Lyra Germanica*, Miss Winkworth has a translation from a 14th century poem, in which occur the lines:

> The Blessed Babe she bare us
> In a cold, cold winter's night.

In one of the songs printed by Professor Flügel in *Anglia* (26. 260) we read:

> On Cristmas nyght, whan it was cold,
> Owr lady lay amonge bestes bolde.

A possible warrant for Milton's assumption may be found, as I have already pointed out ('Two Notes on Milton,' in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* for Jan., 1907: 2. 2. 121–4), in John Baptist Mantuan, *Opera*, ed. 1513, 1. 70 a, b (with slight changes of capitals, punctuation, etc.):

> Deciderant umbræ nemorum; sine crinibus omnis
> Arbor erat, nidosque avium monstrabat inanes.
> Stabat apex Lydi gelida nive candidus Hemi,
> Thaurus Hyperboreos albenti vertice flatus
> Accipiens, hyemem Assyrias spargebat in urbes.
> Mænalon et Rhodopen, Pholon, Erymanthon, et Ossam,
> Idæas rupes Apœninique cacumen

Exuerat frigus penetrans Aquilonis acuti;
Siccaque brumales urebant arva pruinæ.
Astrictique citos undis glacialibus amnes
Perdiderant cursus, et clausæ vitrea Nymphæ
Tecta subintrabant, tepidis ubi Mulciber antris
Conditus hybernat; sic sanguine tinctus Enypheus
Ausonio, sic Thrax Pindo qui labitur Hæbrus,
Populiferque Padus, Lacedæmoniusque Eurotas,
Et Tanais gelida celerem qui dividit undam
Hyrgis aqua, Scythicusque Hypanis, Xanthus Simoisque.
Vix Arabes horti, caldæ vix arva Syenes,
Vix ager Hesperidum, vix ipse virebat Hymetus.

Cf. 1. 68 b:

Et libera pulsis
Undique flamma micat fumis, spelæa ligato
Claudit, et hybernum prohibet velamine frigus.

See also under 68, below.

Milton may have seen Kinsman's translation of Villegas' *Flos Sanctorum* (Toledo, 1583 ?). Of this—*The Lives of Saints*, etc.—the First Part was published in 1609, and the Second in 1615. On pp. 556–7 of the Second Part we have: 'It cannot be expressed, what troubles the holie damosell endured by the way: . . . because it was mid winter, where there be snowes, ice, winds, and tempests. If men in their houses doe often feele them, much more must a young and tender Virgin,' etc.

Longfellow (Cambridge edition, p. 651) translates from Luis de Gongora (1561–1627):

And, crowned with winter's frost and snow,
Night swayed the sceptre of the world.

And thus Crashaw, *Hymn of the Nativity*:

I saw the curled drops, soft and slow,
Come hovering o'er the place's head,
Offering their whitest sheets of snow,
To furnish the fair infant's bed.

One of Southwell's poems begins:

Behold a silly tender Babe,
In freezing winter's night;

and the beginning of his poem, *The Burning Babe*, suggests the same belief. Cf. also Joseph Beaumont, *Psyche* 7. 134, and the beginning of Christina Rossetti's *Christmas Carol*:

In the bleak mid-winter
  Frosty winds made moan,
Earth stood hard as iron,
  Water like a stone;
Snow had fallen, snow on snow,
  Snow on snow,
In the bleak mid-winter,
  Long ago.

30. **While.** Almost the same as *when*; cf. 120.

heaven-born. I do not know what Hales means by saying: 'born is dissyllabic here.' The first syllable does duty for a foot, as in 89, 93, 104, 153, 166, 177, 185; cf. 120, 225.

32. **Nature.** Again personified in 101. The *Alma Redemptoris* has:

Tu quæ genuisti,
Natura mirante, tuum sanctum Genitorem.

Nature here almost = 'the earth.'

33. At times in Latin, words like *vestis*, *vestire*, *induere* are figuratively used of certain natural features of the earth: so *montes vestiti*, Cicero, *N.D.* 2. 53. 132. Ovid and Virgil, though rarely, contain expressions which point to the fuller developments of mediæval literature. Alain de Lille, in his *De Planctu Naturæ* (tr. Moffat, *Yale Studies in English* 36), has the following (Prose 2, lines 69–72): 'The earth, lately stripped of its charms by the thieving winter, through the generosity of spring donned a purple tunic of flowers, that it might not, inglorious in ragged vestments, appear to the young virgin unbecomingly.' Again (Metre 4, l. 27): 'And, clothed in its tunic of blossoms, the earth exults.' The *Roman de la Rose* speaks (56–66) of the earth as becoming so proud by reason of the dew that falls upon it, that it forgets the poor estate in which it had remained during the winter, desires a new robe, and actually fashions one for itself of varied colors. This is translated by Chaucer (*R.R.* 59–70), as follows:

And the erthe wexeth proud withalle,
For swote dewes that on it falle,
And [al] the pore estat forget
In which that winter hadde it set,
And than bicometh the ground so proud
That it wol have a newe shroud,
And maketh so queynt his robe and fayr
That it hath hewes an hundred payr

Of gras and floures, inde and pers,
And many hewes ful dyvers:
That is the robe I mene, ywis,
Through which the ground to preisen is.

Cf. *Leg. Good Women* 113–7; *Book of the Duchess* 405–412; *Boeth.* 1. 2. 8; *T. and C.* 3. 353.

About the same time we have Trevisa using a similar expression in his translation of Bartholomew's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* 8. 16. Charles d'Orleans is especially fond of the term *livrée*. Thus in *Chanson* 82. 5–8 (d'Héricault 2. 48):

Esté revest champs, bois et fleurs,
De sa livrée de verdure.

And in the well-known *Rondeau* 63 (d'Héricault 2. 115):

Riviere, fontaine et ruisseau
Portent, en livrée jolie,
Gouttes d'argent d'orfavrerie,
Chacun s'abille de nouveau.

The same word occurs in *Pearl* 1108: see Osgood's note. Later instances are: Surrey, *Compl. of the Lover that defied Love* 4; *Pilgrimage to Parnassus* 1. 309–10:

The earth hath ten times binne disrobbed quite
Of her greene gowne and flowrie coverings.

Milton himself has: *P.L.* 7. 501–2:

Earth in her rich attire
Consummate lovely smiled.

Cf. *Somn.* 20. 5–8; *P.L.* 1. 410; 4. 599; 7. 312–5. The process may be conceived as in some sense the reverse of that in *P.L.* 7. 313–6.

34. **so to sympathize.** Cf. 10–12. As Christ had stripped himself of his glory, so the earth had divested herself of her adornments.

35. **no season.** That season would have been spring, or perhaps summer as well.

36. **wanton.** Probably, to sport lasciviously. In *P.L.* 11. 580 ff., gay attire is the harbinger of amorous revel. Cf. *El.* 5. 95:

Sic Tellus *lasciva* suos suspirat amores.

Gilles Durant, in *Le Zodiac Amoureux* (1588), imagines (l. 41) the earth as 'devenue amoureuse,' and so as 'pleine de fleurs' (see

Sidney Lee's article on Chapman's *Amorous Zodiacke*, in *Mod. Phil.* 3. 143–58).

lusty paramour. In his *Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems*, p. 13, Osgood says: 'This suggests the story of the new creation after the flood by the coöperation of Earth and Sun (Ov. *Met.* 1. 416 ff.; cf. Milt. *Eleg.* 5. 55 f.).' Milton may have obtained a hint from Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victory and Triumph*:

> As when the cheerful sun, elamping wide,
> Glads all the world with his uprising ray,
> *And woos the widoweed earth afresh to pride*,
> And paints her bosom with the flowery May.

See also P. Fletcher, *Purple Island* 6. 403–4. At the beginning of Sidney's *Arcadia* we have: 'It was in the time that the Earth begins to put on her new apparel against the approach of her lover.'

Davies, *Orchestra* 39. 1–2, has:

> For that brave Sun, the Father of the Day,
> Doth love the Earth, the Mother of the Night.

Cf. also Dracontius, *De Laud. Dei* 326–7:

> Tellus,
> Solis amica nimis.

Perhaps the earliest authority is Anaxagoras, as quoted by Aristotle, *De Plantis* 1. 2 (817a. 27–8): *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔφη πρὸς Λεχίνεον ὅτι ἡ γῆ μήτηρ μέν ἐστι τῶν φυτῶν, ὁ δὲ ἥλιος πατήρ.* On the earth as bride (of heaven or the ether) cf. Virgil, *G.* 2. 325–7, with Conington's notes; Lucr. 1. 250; 2. 992; 5. 313, with Munro's notes; Euripides, fr. 488 and 836 (Nauck).

37. **fair.** Perhaps with a slight suggestion of mere plausibility. Cf. *Com.* 160 ff.; *P.R.* 2. 301.

38. **woos.** Cf. *Sonn.* 13. 13.

gentle. Jebb renders by 'obedientem.'

39. **guilty front.** Cf. *S.A.* 496:

> The mark of fool set on his front!

innocent snow. Shakespeare associates the notion of purity or chastity with snow: *Temp.* 4. 1. 55; *Coriol.* 5. 3. 66; *Tim.* 4. 3. 386; *Macb.* 4. 3. 53; *Cymb.* 2. 5. 13; *Haml.* 3. 1. 140. The Bible employs the figure in Ps. 51. 7; Isa. 1. 18; Matt. 28. 3; and possibly Rev. 1. 14.

40. **naked shame.** Cf. Rev. 3. 18: 'I counsel thee to buy of me . . . white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the *shame of thy nakedness* do not appear.' See also Mic. 1. 11; Rev. 16. 15.

For the Old Testament, see also Exod. 20. 26; Ezek. 16. 36; 23. 29; Nah. 3. 5.

41. **Pollute.** From Lat. *pollutus*; but *polluted* in *P.L.* 12. 110. Such participles, based directly upon the Latin, are common in Shakespeare as well as Milton; see Abbott, *Shak. Gram.* 342.

blame. Blameworthiness, wickedness. Cf. *P.L.* 5. 119; 9. 292; also Eph. 1. 4, and frequently in Shakespeare.

42. **saintly veil of maiden white.** See on *innocent snow*, 39. *Sonn.* 23. 9:

> Came vested all in white, pure as her mind.

Cf. *P.L.* 9. 1054; *S.A.* 1035. White raiment is a sign of purity in the Bible; cf. on *naked shame*, 40, and see Rev. 3. 5; 4. 4; 6. 11; 7. 9, 13, 14; 15. 6; 19. 8; cf. also Isa. 61. 10.

maiden. Cf. *Com.* 843, 'maiden gentleness.'

43. **Confounded.** 'Discomfited, abashed' (L.). Cf. *P.L.* 9. 1064; *Ps.* 83. 63 (the Authorized Version has the same word, Ps. 83. 17).

44. **deformities.** Lydgate (1413) speaks of 'fowle spottys, and wonderful defourmitees,' Lyte (1578) of 'sonne burning, and other suche deformyties of the face.' In the moral sense, Maundeville (1400) uses the expression 'Purged and clene of all vice and alkyn deformitee.' See *New Eng. Dict.*, and *P.R.* 3. 86.

Milton conceives of the earth, when neither clothed with verdure nor covered with snow, as unsightly, and bases his figure upon this conception.

45. **cease.** This transitive sense seems to be from the French. With 'fears to cease' compare Virgil's *solvere metus* (*Æn.* 1. 163).

46. **meek-eyed Peace.** Verity compares 'pure-eyed Faith,' *Com.* 213. Gentle eyes are ascribed to peace by Shakespeare, *King John* 4. 3. 150.

47. **olive.** Verity says: 'Cf. the description of an allegorical representative of Peace in Ben Jonson's *Entertainments at the Coronation of James I.*: "The first and principal person in the Temple was Irene or Peace. She was placed aloft, . . . her attire white, semined with stars: . . . a wreath of olive on her head, on her shoulder a silver dove. In her left hand she held forth an olive branch."'

But there is other precedent for the olive wreath. Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victory*, has:

> One of her [Mercy's] graces she sent hastily,
> Smiling Eirene, that a garland wears
> Of gilded olive on her fairer hairs.

And in the same poem Fletcher represents Christ as standing under a wild olive tree:

> As with her leaves she seemed to crown His head,
> And her green arms to embrace the Prince of Peace.

Spenser, *Shep. Cal.*, April:

> Chloris, that is the chiefest Nymph of all,
> Of olive braunches beares a Coronall:
> Olives bene for peace,
> When wars doe surcease:
> Such for a Princesse bene principall.

Prudentius (b. 348) thus describes Concordia, *Psych.* 687–8:

> Ipsa redimitos olea frondente capillos
> Ostentans festis respondet læta choreis.

Readers of Dante will recall how Beatrice appears (*Purg.* 30. 31) to the poet 'cinta d'oliva.'

For the general connection of the olive with peace, see, for example, Virgil, *G.* 2. 425; *Æn.* 8. 116; 11. 333; Ovid, *F.* 1. 1. 31; Plutarch, *Thes.* 18; Prudentius, *Cath.* 3. 55; Isidore of Seville, *Etym.* 17. 7. 62. In Greek literature, Sophocles, *O.R.* 3; Æschylus, *Eum.* 43. In Hebrew literature, Ps. 52. 8; 128. 3. Concord carries a branch of flowering olive in her hand in Alain de Lille's *Anticlaudianus* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 210. 502):

> Virginis in dextra, foliorum crine comatus,
> Flore tumens, fructus exspectans, ramus olivæ
> Pubescit.

Clement, *Handbook Leg. and Myth. Art*, p. 5, says: 'The olive, as the emblem of peace, is given to the Archangel Gabriel. . . . It is . . . sometimes borne by the angels who announce the Nativity'; cf. p. 187.

sliding. W. L'Isle had published in 1623 a poem, *To the Prince*, in which (stanza 11) occurs the line:

> But peace straight from aboue gan softly slide.

Cf. *P.L.* 8. 301–2:

> And over fields and waters, as in air
> Smooth sliding without step.

The verb represents Lat. *labi*, as in Virgil, *Æn.* 1. 394; 3. 243; 4. 223; 5. 216; 6. 202; 11. 595. The Latin word is employed in relation to a falling star: Virgil, *G.* 1. 366; 2. 693.

48. **sphere.** L. defines: 'the orb or globe of the universe,' and compares *P.L.* 8. 82; see also *P.L.* 7. 22.

49. **harbinger.** Herald. Such was Hermes: Homer, *Od.* 5. 29; Hesiod, *Works* 80; *Theog.* 939, etc. As the herald was called κῆρυξ by the Greeks, so his wand or sceptre was called κηρύκειον.

50. **turtle.** At once suggestive of swift flight (Ps. 55. 6; Sophocles, *O.C.* 1080), purity (cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 10. 52), peacefulness (Horace, *Od.* 4. 4. 27–28), harmlessness (Matt. 10. 16), beauty of plumage (Ps. 68. 13), lovingness, holiness (Tibullus 1. 7. 18), and the presence of the Holy Spirit (Matt. 3. 16; John 1. 32).

wing. Singular for plural, as in *Com.* 989, and elsewhere.

amorous. Referring of course to the attractiveness of Peace. Jebb merely translates by 'sequacia.'

Ovid has 'cupidæ undæ' (*F.* 3. 647). Cowley, *Bathing*:

> The amorous waves would fain about her stay.

Shakespeare, *A. and C.* 2. 2. 200–2:

> made
> The water which they beat to follow faster,
> As amorous of their strokes.

dividing. So of Mercury, Virgil, *Æn.* 4. 245–6:

> Turbida tranat
> Nubila.

Cf. Virgil, *G.* 1. 406; *Æn.* 10. 265–6; Horace, *Od.* 4. 14. 21–2; Sannazaro, *De Partu Virg.* 1. 83, 90.

The descent of Peace resembles that of Mercury as described by Virgil, *Æn.* 4. 238 ff.; cf. Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 1. 13; Milton, *P.L.* 3. 640–644; 5. 277–287; *Eleg.* 2. 13, 14; Sannazaro, *Part. Virg.* 1. 77–90; Mantuan, *Dion. Areop.* (*Opera* 1. 217 b).

Mercury differs in so far from Peace as he is not provided with wings like hers. Her wings resemble those of angels. In the earliest Christian art, angels were represented as masculine and full clothed. The first winged angel known is from the basilica of Pudentiana (384–398). The traditional winged angel bears a resemblance to a winged Victory (cf. Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der Altchristlichen Kunst*, pp. 242 ff.; Hartel und Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*, p. 6, and Plates II and XI). Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 2. 251, tells of certain coins on which Peace is winged, like a Nike.

Milton mentions 'sceptred angels,' *P.L.* 1. 734.

51. **myrtle wand.** As we have seen above, the herald has a wand, and Hermes has his caduceus (Homer, *Il.* 24. 343; *Od.* 5. 47;

Horace, *Od.* 1. 10. 18). As Hermes is regarded as 'pacifer' (Ovid, *Met.* 14. 291), so his staff has a like quality ascribed to it (Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 1. 320). Thus Ben Jonson, *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, Grand Chorus:

> The snaky rod and serpents of Cyllenius
> Bring not more peace than these.

Spanheim, *De Præst. et Usu Numism. Ant.* (Amsterdam, 1717) 2. 642, tells of a Greek coin of Titus, representing Peace in the dress of a woman, with ears of grain in her right hand, and the legend EIRHNH (a picture of the coin is given).

The myrtle was sacred to Aphrodite (Pausanias 6. 24. 7; Virgil, *Ecl.* 7. 62; *Æn.* 6. 442; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 15. 29. 36), and was the symbol of union and happiness (Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen.* 6. Aufl., p. 221). A myrtle wand is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* 7. 817; Ovid, *Am.* 3. 1. 34. Prudentius, *Psych.* 878–887, has a description of a flowering wand in the hands of the personified Wisdom; this is compared to Aaron's rod that blossomed (Num. 17. 8).

52. **strikes.** Keightley says: 'There can be no reference whatever to the *ferire fœdus* of the Latins, for that was done by the parties themselves.' Dunster compares Beaumont and Fletcher, *Maid's Tragedy* (printed 1619), 'where Neptune is invoked by Æolus '*to strike a calm*' (Act 1, Scene 2).

through sea and land. Milton must have been aware that this was a classic formula in relation to the establishment of peace by the Romans, especially under Augustus. Lucretius thus invokes Venus (1. 29, 30):

> Effice ut interea fera mœnera militiai
> Per maria ac terras omnis sopita quiescant.

Appian B.C. 5. 130 (chap. 13): 'When he arrived at Rome [A.U.C. 718], he proclaimed peace and good-will, and said that the civil wars were ended. He accepted a golden image to be erected in the Forum, bearing the inscription:

"Peace, long disturbed, he re-established on land and sea (*κατά τε γῆν καὶ θάλατταν*)."'

Suetonius, *Augustus*, chap. 22: 'The temple of Janus Quirinus, which had been shut twice only from the era of the building of the city to his own time, he closed thrice in a much shorter period, having established universal peace both by sea and land (*terra marique*).'

Livy (1. 19) says that the temple of Janus was closed 'by the emperor Augustus Cæsar after the battle of Actium, peace being

established by sea and land (*terra marique*).' The Halicarnassus inscription concerning Augustus has (*Mitth. des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archæol. Instituts*, Athen. Abth. 24 (1899). 293; Soltau, *Birth of Jesus Christ*, pp. 70 ff.): 'peace prevails on earth and sea (εἰρηνεύουσι μὲν γὰρ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα).'

Finally the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, on which Augustus' exploits were commemorated by his order, has the following (chap. 13): 'Janus Quirinus, which it was the purpose of our fathers to close when there was peace won by victory throughout the whole empire of the Roman people on land and sea (*terra marique*), . . . the senate three times ordered to be closed while I was *princeps*.'

Add Sannazaro, *Part. Virg.* 2. 116:

Interea terra pacta jam pace marique.

The currency of the conception that the peace of Augustus prevailed at the birth of Christ is perhaps due as much to Orosius (fl. A.D. 417) as to any one; see especially 1. 1. 6; 3. 8. 5–8; 4. 12. 4 ff.; 6. 22. 1–4 of his history. To him Dante is no doubt indebted: *Par.* 6. 55–57, 80–81; *Mon.* 1. 4, 16; *Conv.* 4. 5; though he may also have drawn from Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, P. 3, Qu. 35, Art. 8; *De Reg. Princ.* 3. 10; or from Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 14. 35. Among other Christian Latin writers who deal with the subject may be mentioned Jerome, on Isa. 2. 4 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 24. 46) and Ps. 72 (26. 1028); Bede, *De Temp. Rat.* 66; cf. Ælfric, *Hom.* 1. 32; Prudentius, *Contra Symm.* 2. 586–642. A striking couplet is that by Alexander Neckam, *De Laud. Div. Sap.* 5. 209–210 (quoted by Graf, *Roma* 1. 309):

Salvator voluit sub tanto principe nasci,
Nam pax sub pacis principe nata fuit.

The Greek Fathers had dealt with the same subject: for example, Theodoret, on Ps. 72 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 80. 1434); Cyril of Alexandria, on Isa. 2. 4. (70. 72–3); Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2. 30; on Ps. 46. 8, 9 (12. 1435); Eusebius of Cæsarea, *Præp. Evang.* 1. 4; *Oration in Praise of Constantine*, chap. 16; on Ps. 46. 8, 9 (23. 411); on Ps. 72. 7 (23. 802–3); Chrysostom, *Contra Judæos et Gentiles*; on Isa. 2. 4; on Ps. 46. 8, 9.

In modern times, it is variously touched upon; for example, by Lyly, *Euphues and his England* (Arber, p. 456); Bossuet, *Disc. sur l'Hist. Univ.*; Bishop Williams, *Twelve Sermons,* 2d ed. (London, 1708), p. 266; Merivale, *Gen. Hist. of Rome*, chap. 54; cf. Vacherot, *Hist. Crit. de l'École d'Alexandrie* 1. 116, 117, 121.

On this occasion, the gates of the temple of Janus were probably closed from A.U.C. 746 to 753. They had been twice closed before the time of Augustus: (1) under Numa; (2) in 519. To these must be added, under Augustus: (3) 725, Jan. 11; (4) 729 (728?); (5) as above. For the calculations, see Shuckburgh's note on Suetonius. *Augustus*, chap. 22; Mommsen, *Res Gestæ Divi Augusti*. pp. 50–51; Fairley, in *Reprints from the Orig. Sources of Eur. Hist.* (Philadelphia, 1898) V. 1. Besides the ancient writers briefly quoted above, cf. Dio Cassius 51. 20; Velleius Paterculus 2. 34, 38, 89; Florus 2. 3; 4. 12; Plutarch, *Numa* 19; *Fort. Rom.* 9; Horace, *Od.* 4. 15. 8–9 (and all of 4. 14 and 15); *Ep.* 2. 1. 253–5. Virgil, *Æn.* 1. 291–4; 7. 607–10; Ovid, *Ep. ex Pont.* 1. 2. 126; Martial 8. 66. 9–12. On the Augustan idea of peace in general, see Virgil, *Æn.* 6. 607 ff.; Horace, *Carm. Sæc.* 57–60; Ovid, *F.* 1. 697–704, 709–722; Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* 1. 479 ff. On the possible relation of Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue* to Messianic prophecy, see Mayor, Fowler, and Conway, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue* (London, 1907).

Merivale (*op. cit.*) sums up as follows: 'The actual state of the world, even of the world of the Romans, will hardly at this or perhaps any other period bear out such an assertion in its literal sense. On their frontiers at least, if not in the interior of their subject provinces, the Romans were always in arms, and enjoyed hardly a momentary respite from active operations. Nevertheless the government of Augustus was substantially peaceful; there was entire cessation form all civil wars; the Romans were engaged in no desperate rivalry with any equal enemy. . . . Certainly in a broad sense it might be truly said that the reign of Augustus was an interval of peace throughout the world known to the Romans. The prophecy of the Hebrew Scriptures was substantially fulfilled.'

53. **No war.** Spenser, describing the Saturnian reign, says (*F.Q.* 5. Int. 9):

> No warre was knowne, no dreadfull trompets sound;
> Peace universall rayn'd mongst men and beasts.

With this and the following may be compared Mantuan (see under 29, above) *Parth.* 3. 1 (*Opera* 1. 67b):

> Jam mare, jam tellus Italo deterrita Marte,
> Cæsaris imperium Romanaque jura ferebat.
> Pax erat, et domitum late placaverat orbem
> Tuta quies; nusquam litui, non arma sonabant,
> Et sua bifrontem ducebant limina Janum.

55. **The idle spear and shield.** Cf. Bacchylides' poem on peace (tr. Symonds):

> Then in the steely shield swart spiders weave
> Their web and dusky woof;
> Rust to the pointed spear and sword doth cleave;
> The brazen trump sounds no alarm.

Other passages resemble this, or are modeled upon it. Thus Theocritus 16. 96–7; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 38. 13; Plutarch, *Numa* 19; *Nicias* 9; an epigram of the Greek Anthology (ed. Jacobs, 1813, 6. 236), under the name of Philip; Propertius 2. 25. 8; and, among moderns, Ben Jonson, *Prince Henry's Barriers* 39–42; Peele, *Polyhymnia*; Tennyson, *Maud* 28. 2. 27, 28; Lowell, *Sir Launfal*, Part 2, stanza 9; even Thackeray, *Rebecca and Rowena,* chap. 1.

up hung. L. treats as one word.

56. **hookèd chariot.** Cf. Spenser, *F.Q.* 5. 8. 28. 4–5:

> And, mounting straight upon a charret hye,
> With yron wheeles and hookes arm'd dreadfully.

Hookèd is the Lat. *falcatus* (prose), *falcifer* (poetry), the Greek δρεπανηφόρος. Xenophon attributes the invention of scythed chariots to Cyrus (*Cyr.* 6. 1. 30, 50; cf. *Anab.* 1. 7. 10; 1. 8. 10). Silius Italicus (17. 417–8 assigns the scythe-bearing chariot to the barbarians of the North:

> Cærulus haud aliter, quum dimicat, incola Thules
> Agmina falcifero circumvenit arta covino.

In 2 Maccabees 13. 2 we have a mention of 'three hundred chariots armed with hooks.'

58. **The trumpet spake not.** Cf. Horace, *Epod.* 2. 4: 'neque excitatur classica miles truci'; Tibullus 1. 1. 4: 'martia cui somnos classica pulsa fugant'; Virgil, *G.* 2. 539: 'Necdum etiam audierant inflari classica.' Propertius 4(3). 2(3). 41–2: 'Nil tibi sit rauco præconia classica cornu flare.' The general idea occurs in L'Isle, *To the Prince* (printed in his *Divers Ancient Monuments*).

spake. Cf. Rev. 4. 1: 'The first voice which I heard was as it were of a trumpet *talking* with me'; similarly *voice*, *Exod.* 19. 16, 19; Isa. 58. 1; Rev. 1. 10; 8. 13.

59. Marlowe, *Faustus* 9. 37, has:

> Great potentates do kneel with awful fear.

(I owe this reference to my friend, Professor Charles G. Osgood.) Perhaps both writers are indebted to such passages as Ps. 72. 11; 49. 7, 23; 52. 15.

61. **peaceful.** The suggestion may have come from the Apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon* 18. 14, 15: 'For while all things were in quiet silence, and that night was in the midst of her swift course, thine almighty word leaped down from heaven out of thy royal throne.' This was adapted in the Antiphon for the Magnificat for the Sunday before the Octave of Christmas. The influence of the passage upon Mantuan's companion-picture (l. 70 b) is evident:

> Attulerat medio nox alta silentia cursu,
> Astraque per tenebras tremulis ardentia flammis
> Lustrabant dubio frigentum lumine terram.

See also Sannazaro, *Part. Virg.* 2. 309 ff.

62. **Prince of Light.** One almost expects 'Prince of Peace' (Isa. 9. 6). The substitution is artistically made. In Christian Latin poetry we have *Auctor lucis*, and in Old English there are similar expressions: *Azar.* 121, 129, etc. Christ is often designated as light: Lk. 2. 32; John 1. 7 ff.; 8. 12; 9. 5; 12. 35 ff., 46.

64. **wonder.** Plutarch remarks of the halcyon: 'There is not any other creature for which man has so great an affection, seeing that for her sake,' etc. This notion of the winds deferring to the halcyon is here adapted, so that they now are calm out of deference to the coming of Christ.

whist. Hushed. Shakespeare uses the word similarly, *Temp.* 1. 1. 378–9:

> Curtsied when you have, and kissed
> The wild waves whist.

Todd cites Marlowe, *Dido* 4. 1. 25:

> The air is clear, and southern winds are whist.

The onomatopœia of 64–66 is noticeable.

65. **Smoothly.** Perhaps with some suggestion of the predicate adjective of result, as if, 'kissed the waters smooth,' like the 'strucken mute' of *P.L.* 9. 1064. Milton is apparently under the influence of the construction in Shakespeare's '*kissed* the wild waves *whist*.' This view receives some countenance from Jebb's 'oscula fluctibus dantes *quietis*,' though this, of course, is rather 'kissed the smooth waters.' Cf. *charmèd*, 68.

66. **Whispering.** So *P.L.* 8. 515–6,

> fresh gales and gentle airs
> Whispered it to the woods.

Cf. *P.L.* 4. 158.

Oceàn. Trisyllabic. Cf. *Oceanus, Com.* 868, and such instances of personification as *P.L.* 4. 165; 5. 426.

67. **Who.** As in *P.L.* 5. 139 (the sun), *Com.* 113 (the stars).

rave. Cf. *Vac. Ex.* 43, 'how green-eyed Neptune raves.'

68. **birds of calm.** Cf. *Ælian* 1. 36: 'When the halcyon broods the sea is calm, and the winds keep peace and friendship. They brood in midwinter, and yet the serenity of the air affords them security and the enjoyment of halcyon days at this season.' Among other Greek writers who deal with this subject are Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 5. 8 (who makes the period fourteen days, seven before and seven after the solstice); Simonides (Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, p. 56); Theocritus 7. 57–60; Leo the Academic, *Alc.* 2; Plutarch, *Water or Land Animals* 35; Basil, *Hexaemeron* 8. 5 (*Patr. Gr.* 29. 178). Of Latin writers may be mentioned, besides Varro, Ovid, *Met.* 11. 745–8; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 10. (32.) 47; Silius Italicus 14. 274–6; Hyginus, *Fab.* 65; Ambrose, *Hexaemeron* 5. 13 (*Patr. Lat.* 14. 224); Isidore of Seville, *Etym.* 12. 7. 25 (*Patr. Lat.* 82. 462); Eustathius 8. 5 (*ib.* 53. 951); Hrabanus Maurus, *De Universo* 8. 6 (*ib.* 111. 246); Pseudo-Hugh of St. Victor, *De Bestiis* 3. 29 (*ib.* 177. 95); Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Naturale* 16. 26.

Mantuan (*Opera* 1. 70 b), thus writes:

> Halcyonis fœtæ variis nova pignora pennis
> Jam tolli audebant, primosque efferre volatus.

Among modern authors who have touched upon the halcyon are Du Bartas (Sylvester, *Works*, ed. Grosart, 1. 68. 777–789; Chapman, *Andromeda Liberata*; Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors* 3. 10; Coleridge, *To a Gentleman* 87–91; Shelley, *Epips.* 411–2; *Rev. Islam* 1. 58. 7 ('birds of calm' borrowed from Milton); *Studies for Epipsychidion* 62–4; Keats, *Endymion* 456–8; Landor, *Retirement*; Lowell, *Comm. Ode* XI.

brooding. Literally, as in *P.L.* 1. 21.

69. **stars.** Cf. Fletcher, as quoted under 21:

> Heaven awakèd all his eyes,
> To see another Sun at midnight rise.

See also 61, note. Add Sannazaro, *Part. Virg.* 2. 344–5:

> video totum descendere Cælum
> Spectandi excitum studio.

See also Ephrem Syrus, *Rhythm* 1 (*Select Works*, ed. Morris, p. 6): 'Who would pass this night in slumber, in which all the world was watching?'

70. **In steadfast gaze.** See Kinsman, *Lives of the Saints*, pp. 557–9 (cf. note on 29): 'The starres that strayed in the midst of heauen, desired to stay, to see that great, and new meruaile. Those starres that were passed, desired to turne back againe: and those, that were behind, desired to hasten their iourney, to be present at this happie and fortunate houre. All things created, yea nature it selfe stood astonied and amased.'

Cf. the Apocryphal *Protevangel of James*, chap. 18: 'And I Joseph . . . looked up into the air, and saw the air violently agitated; and I looked up at the pole of heaven, and saw it stationary, and the fowls of heaven still. . . . And I saw the sheep scattered, and the sheep stood, and the shepherd lifted up his hand to strike them, and his hand remained up; and I looked at the stream of the river, and I saw that the mouths of the kids were down, and not drinking; and everything which was being compelled forward was intercepted in its course.'

71. **Bending.** See, for example, *P.L.* 2. 354; *Ps.* 68. 8.

precious. See *P.L.* 9. 106–7:

> In thee concentring all their precious beams
> Of sacred influence.

Cf. *P.L.* 2. 1034.

influence. L. defines as 'the power or "virtue" exerted by celestial bodies,' and cites *P.L.* 7. 375; 4. 669; 9. 107; 8. 513; 10. 662; *Com.* 336. Hales and Verity compare Job 38. 31, and give references to other authors.

72. **will not take their flight.** So Claudian represents Nature as in labor at the birth of a new Phœnix, while (*Phœn.* 60–61)

> Nitidos stupefacta juvencos
> Luna premit, pigrosque polus non concitat axes;

a passage which Tasso has imitated in his *Fenice* 169–171.

The ancients, beginning with Homer, refer to an actual or wished-for delay or acceleration of the rising or setting of the lights of heaven. Thus, *Od.* 23. 241, Dawn would have come, had not Athene willed otherwise: 'The night she held long in the utmost West, and on the other side she stayed the golden-throned Dawn by the stream Oceanus, and suffered her not to harness the swift-footed steeds that bear light to men.' When Jupiter lies in the arms of Alcmena, he delays the sun: Lucian, *Dial. Gods* 10; Hyginus, *Fab.* 29; Seneca, *Agam.* 814 ff. Cf. Ovid. *Amor.* 1. 13. 2 ff.; *Met.* 2. 149 ff.; 4. 195 ff.; *Ep.* 1. 8, 9; Virgil, *Ecl.* 8. 18; Seneca, *Hipp.* 312–6.

Of later writers, cf. Boccaccio, *Fiam.* 3. 60; *Filostrato* 5. 68; Chaucer, *T. and C.* 3. 1702 ff.; 5. 659 ff.; Norton and Sackville, *Gorboduc* 1. 1. 4–6; Sannazaro, *Part. Virg.* 1. 369 ff.; Chapman, *Hero and Leander*, Fifth Sestiad; Dekker, *King's Entertainment*; George Herbert, *Whitsunday* 13–16; *Christmas* (cf. note on 17) 23–4; Herrick, *Corinna's Going a-Maying* 25–7; Cowley, *Death of Mr. William Hervey* 2; Milton, *Eleg.* 5. 43–4, 137–8; *P.L.* 10. 688 ff. In the Bible, see Josh. 10. 12, 13.

73. **For.** In spite of, notwithstanding. Used of a preventive cause or obstacle; see *New Eng. Dict.* s. v., 23.

all. See *New Eng. Dict.* s. v., 9, c. A good example of the phrase occurs in John 21. 11.

74. **Lucifer.** The morning star. Cf. *P.L.* 7. 131–3; 10. 425–6.

calls. The stars have a leader in *P.L.* 4. 606; 5. 208–9. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2. 114–5; 4. 629, 664; 11. 97–8, 296; *F.* 5. 600; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 128; *Thy.* 793–4. See also F. Nethersole to Dean Nevile, prefixed to Fletcher's *Christ's Victory*. In the apocryphal *Book of Enoch*, ed. Charles, see 82. 7, 9, 10; 75. 1; 72. 3.

75. **orbs.** The meaning is uncertain. Dr. Murray, of the *New Eng. Dict.* wrote me in February, 1906: '"Orbs" is difficult. I am doubtful, as are all the members of our staff.'

Hales compares Shakespeare, *M.N.D.* 3. 2. 61: 'Venus in her glimmering sphere.'

76. **bespake.** Spake; so *Lyc.* 112; *P.R.* 1. 43.

bid. Used for the preterit also in 124; *P.L.* 2, 514, etc.; but *bade* in *Com.* 639.

77. **shady gloom.** Nearly pleonastic, but perhaps = 'gloom produced by the shadows of night.' Jebb renders by 'umbras nigrantes.'

78. **her.** It may be a question whether this refers to *gloom* or *day*—'the place which she (gloom) had occupied,' or, 'the place to which she (day) was entitled'; I incline to the former.

79. See note on 72.

80. **hid.** Cf. *P.L.* 4. 34–2:

> at whose sight all the stars
> Hide their diminished heads.

head. See last quotation, and *Il P.* 71; *Lyc.* 169.

shame. See 40, 111. Cf. George Herbert, *Whitsunday* 13–16:

> The sunne, which once did shine alone,
> Hung down his head and wisht for night,
> When he beheld twelve sunnes for one
> Going about the world and giving light.

Miserie 33–34:

> The same holds down his head for shame,
> Dead with eclipses, when we speak of thee.

81. **As.** As if. So *P.L.* 6. 715; *P.R.* 4. 453.

83. **greater Sun.** This rests ultimately on Mal. 4. 2. Thus Pseudo-Cyprian, in a treatise composed A.D. 242 or 243, says (ed. Hartel, 3. 266): 'O quam præclara providentia ut illo die quo factus est sol, in ipso die nasceretur Christus, V Kal. Apr. feria IIII, et ideo de ipso ad plebem dicebat Malachias propheta: '*Orietur vobis sol justitiæ, et curatio est in pennis ejus.*' On the various Fathers who have used this figure, see Cumont, *op. cit.* (note on 29) 1. 355–6. Besides Mal. 4. 2, cf. Ps. 84. 11; Isa. 9. 2; Matt. 4. 14, 15; John 1. 4, 5, 9; 3. 19; 8. 12; 9. 5; 12. 36, 46; 1 Tim. 6. 16; 1 John 1. 5. The Christians were not only accused of identifying Christ with the sun, but in some cases seem actually to have done so; see Eusebius of Alexandria, *Orat.* 6 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 86. 453); Leo the Great, as quoted by Cumont (2. 67); and Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 185. For a similar identification among the heathen, cf. Ennius, *Medea*, fr. 14: 'Juppiter, tuque adeo, summe sol, qui omnis res inspicis.'

As to a luminary actually surpassing in brightness the sun in the heavens, see Acts 26. 13. Some of the early Christian writers represent the star of the wise men as surpassing the brightness of the sun. Thus Prudentius, *Cath.* 12. 5–8:

> Hæc stella, quæ solis rotam
> Vincit decore ac lumine,
> Venisse terris nuntiat
> Cum carne terrestri Deum;

the star being afterwards identified with Christ (*ib.* 17–20; cf. *Apoth.* 615; *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, chap. 17). To the same effect Ignatius, *Ep. to Ephes.* 19. Cf. Prudentius, *Apoth.* 625–630:

> Quique alii horrifices pendent in nubibus ignes
> Luciferum timuere novum: rota lurida solis
> Horret, et excidium sentit jam jamque futurum,
> Seque die medio velandam tegmine glauco
> Splendoremque poli periturum nocte diurna,
> Orbe repentinis caput obnubente tenebris.

The relation between this figure of the sun and the time of year at which Christmas has been fixed—that of the first increase of light in our northern hemisphere—must not be forgotten. This has

been suggested by Prudentius, *Cath.* 11. 1–12, thus translated by R. Martin Pope (*Temple Classics*):

> Why doth the sun re-orient take
> A wider range, his limits break?
> Lo! Christ is born, and o'er earth's night
> Shineth from more to more the light!
>
> Too swiftly did the radiant day
> Her brief course run and pass away:
> She scarce her kindly torch had fired
> Ere slowly fading it expired.
>
> Now let the sky more brightly beam,
> The earth take up the joyous theme:
> The orb a broadening pathway gains
> And with its erstwhile splendor reigns.

Pope remarks that the idea 'is given in a terse form by St. Peter Chrysologus, *Serm.* 159: *Crescere dies cœpit, quia verus dies illuxit.*' Cf. Honorius of Autun (*Patr. Lat.* 172. 819). According to the *Protevangel of James* (chap. 19), and the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* (chap. 13), the cave where Christ, was born was filled with light.

The portents at the death of Cæsar may have influenced some poets in writing of the birth of Christ: a comet appeared, the sun lost its lustre, two or three suns appeared, etc. See Virgil, *G.* 1. 476–480; Ovid, *Met.* 15. 789 ff.; Lucan 1. 522 ff.; Dio Cassius 45. 17; 47. 40; 54. 19; Plutarch, *Cæsar* 69; Cicero, *Phil.* 4. 4; Horace, *Od.* 1. 2; 1. 12. 46–8; Tibullus, 2. 5. 7; Pliny, *H. N.* 2. 25; 2. 98; Eusebius, *Chron. Ol.* 84; Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.*, chaps. 128, 131.

Other poets have played upon the thought of the earthly and the heavenly sun: Dunbar, *Nativity of Christ*; Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victory* (twice); Marino (*Rime*, Venice, 1602, Part I, p. 190); Crashaw, *Nativity*; Donne, *Good Friday*; Herbert, *Whitsunday* and *Easter* (cf. *The Source*). More remote, as not applying to Christ, are Alanus, *De Planctu Naturæ*, Prose 2 (see Moffat's trans.); Spenser, *Shepherd's Calendar*, April; Sidney, *Madrigal* 56.

84. The *throne* and *axletree* (for *chariot*) are from Ovid, *Met.* 2. 1, the account of Phaeton's disastrous ambition. In 2. 23–4, we have:

> sedebat
> In *solio* Phœbus claris lucente smaragdis.

In 3. 59–60 we have *ignifer axis*:

> Non tamen *ignifero* quisquam consistere in *axe*
> Me valet excepto.

So *axis fervens*, Seneca, *Herc. Œt.* 1523; *axis incensus*, *ib.* 1387; *axis flammifer*, Statius, *Silv.* 4. 3. 136, etc.

The commentators quote the 'glowing axle' of *Com.* 96.

85. **lawn.** Grass-land, pasture, as probably in *L'Al.* 71; not 'open space between woods,' with L. and *New Eng. Dict.* The latter does not quote our sense before 1674, but it must have occurred earlier. Hales and Verity have 'pasture.'

86. **Or ere.** This spelling, for *or e'er*, 'before ever,' occurs several times in Shakespeare: *Temp.* 1. 2. 11; 5. 103; *Lear* 2. 4. 289, etc. In Shakespeare it is always a conjunction, like *or ever* in the Bible: Eccl. 12. 6; Song of Songs 6. 12, etc. Here Milton makes it a preposition, apparently because of inattention to the Shakespearean usage. *Or* is a parallel form to *ere*, 'before'; instances of the simple *or* in this sense are: (1553) J. Wilson, *Rhet.* 108: 'Wil you drink or you go, or wil you go or you drinke?'; Shakespeare, *Cymb.* 2. 4. 14.

Milton seems to forget that the earth is covered with snow.

point. 'The point of day' occurs in English as early as the middle of the 15th century, being imitated from the French. We still say 'at the point of death.'

87. **Sate.** So in the first edition.

simply. L. 'artlessly, guilelessly,' comparing *P.L.* 12. 569. In *P.L.* 12. 365, we have

> simple shepherds, keeping watch by night.

rustic. This seems otiose, except for purposes of metre and alliteration. Jebb translates by 'ordine rustico.'

88. **than.** The Old English *ðænne* entered modern English as both *then* and *than* in both senses; hence the confusion in many of our older writers. Shakespeare has *than*, for instance, in *Lucr.* 1440:

> their ranks began
> To break upon the galled shore, and than
> Retire again.

Milton seems to use the form nowhere else.

89. **Pan.** The idea comes ultimately from Ps. 23. 1; 80. 1; Isa. 40. 11; John 10. 11; Heb. 13. 20; 1 Pet. 2. 25; 5. 4. The Good Shepherd is a familiar figure in early Christian art. 'From the second to the fourth century it was beyond comparison the most favorite representation of Christ' (Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, p. 217). Abercius, a bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia toward the close of the second century, composed an inscription for his tomb, in

which occurs the following sentence (Lowrie, p. 235): 'My name is Abercius, a disciple of the holy Shepherd who feeds his sheep upon the hills and plains, who has great eyes which see through all.' The last clause is perhaps significant with regard to the evolution of the idea of Pan. Spenser, whose disciple Milton professed himself to be, refers twice to Christ in the *Shepherd's Calendar* for May (and again twice in July and once in September) as Pan. In the Gloss for May we have the following:

'*Great Pan*, is Christ, the very God of all shepheards, which calleth himselfe the greate, and good shepherd. The name is most rightly (methinkes) applyed to him; for Pan signifieth all, or omnipotent, which is onely the Lord Jesus. And by that name (as I remember) he is called of Eusebius, in his fifte booke *De Preparat. Evang.*, who thereof telleth a proper storye to that purpose. Which story is first recorded of Plutarch, in his booke of the ceasing of Oracles: and of Lavetere translated, in his booke of walking sprightes; who sayth, that about the same time that our Lord suffered his most bitter passion, for the redemtion of man, certein passengers sayling from Italy to Cyprus, and passing by certaine Isles called Paxæ, heard a voyce calling alowde Thamus, Thamus! (now Thamus was the name of an Ægyptian, which was Pilote of the ship), who, giving eare to the cry, was bidden, when he came to Palodes, to tel that the great Pan was dead: which he doubting to doe, yet for that when he came to Palodes, there sodeinly was such a calme of winde, that the shippe stoode still in the sea unmoved, he was forced to cry alowd, that Pan was dead: wherewithall there was heard suche piteous outcryes, and dreadfull shriking, as hath not bene the like. By whych Pan, though of some be understoode the great Satanas, whose kingdome was at that time by Christ conquered, the gates of hell broken up, and death by death delivered to eternall death, (for at that time, as he sayth, all Oracles surceased, and enchaunted spirits, that were wont to delude the people, thenceforth held theyr peace:) and also at the demaund of the Emperoure Tiberius, who that Pan should be, answere was made him by the wisest and best learned, that it was the sonne of Mercurie and Penelope: yet I thinke it more properly meant of the death of Christ, the onely and very Pan, then suffering for his flock.'

Spenser had precedents for his interpretation of Pan as Christ in Marot's *Complainte d'un Pastoureau Chrestien* (*Œuvres*, ed. Jannet, 1. 97 ff.), and Rabelais 4. 28 (ed. Des Marets and Rathéry 2. 163–4). Rabelais thus justifies his interpretation: 'Car à bon droit peut il estre en langage gregois dit Pan. Veu qu'il est le nostre Tout, tout

ce que sommes, tout ce que vivons, tout ce que avons, tout ce que esperons est luy, en luy, de luy, par luy. C'est le bon Pan, le grand pasteur, qui . . . non seulement a en amour et affection ses brebis, mais aussi ses bergers [Virgil, *Ecl.* 2. 33; cf. Ezek. 34. 2 ff.; John 21. 16, 17].'

Spenser's story is related by Plutarch in chap. 17 of the *De Defect. Orac.,* from which it was extracted by Eusebius of Cæsarea, *Præp. Evang.* 5. 17, who, however, makes Pan symbolize the dæmons whose power was overthrown at Christ's death.

The notion of Rabelais, according to which Christ is Pan because he is our All, and all that we have and are is in, of, and by him, is based upon a false etymology, according to which the name, no doubt containing the same syllable, *pa*, which we have in *pasture, pabulum,* was interpreted as τὸ πᾶν, the All or Universe (Servius on Virgil, *Ecl.* 2. 31; *Schol. Theocr.* 1. 3; Isidore, *Etym.* 8. 11. 82; *Orphic Hymns* 11, 34; *Orphic Fragments* 36, 48; Cornut. 27); cf. Miltons 'universal Pan,' *P.L.* 4. 66.

This view, originally perhaps Orphic, was adopted by Stoic writers, and supported by a later identification of Pan with the Egyptian god Mendes (Chnum, Chem). This Mendes was often called 'the Great,' and this may have led to Plutarch's use of the epithet (Roscher, *Lex. der Gr. Myth.* s. v. Pan, coll. 1373–6, 1405; cf. his article in the *Festschrift für Overbeck,* pp. 56 ff.; *Jahrbuch für Klass. Phil.,* 1892, p. 474; Usener, *Götternamen,* p. 347). Thus Pan, who in the Homeric Hymn is said to have been so called 'because he had made glad the hearts of *all* of them,' is still addressed in a similar sense in Politian's Greek *Prayer to God* (*Opera,* ed. 1509, 1. xcix[a]; ed. 1553, p. 626; the translation by Symonds, *Revival of Learning,* chap. 1):

O King of all things, deathless God, Thou Pan supreme, celestial!
Thou seest all, and movest all, and all with might sustainest.
. . . . . .
Thou givest life to all; all these Thou with Thy Spirit fillest.

Pan was sometimes identified with the sun, which still further approximates him to Milton's infant Christ. According to Macrobius (*Sat.* 1. 22), his horns and beard would thus represent the rays of the sun, and he is represented as in love with Echo, to signify the harmony of the spheres, over which the sun may be regarded as presiding, but which is not to be perceived by our ears, any more than Echo by our eyes. Servius, too (*loc. cit.*), who identifies Pan with the universe, considers his horns to represent the sun-

beams, but also the horns of the moon. He wears the spotted skin of a leopard, to signify the starry heaven. His lower parts are rough and shaggy, like trees and shrubs. Finally, his pipe of seven reeds refers to the seven-toned harmony of the spheres (cf. *Æn.* 6. 646). With this exposition of Servius compare Porphyry, *Concerning Images*, as quoted by Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* 3. 11.

In accordance with these ideas, Pan is sometimes represented on gems as playing a flute, and surrounded by the signs of the zodiac (Roscher, *Lexikon*, coll. 1467–8; Piper, *Myth. der Christl. Kunst* 2. 254–6). Echoes of these notions are to be found in Boccaccio, *Gen. Deorum* 1. 4; Marot, *Églogue au Roy* (the seven reeds denoting the harmony of the spheres, the seven gods 'clairs et haulx,' and the seven liberal arts), and in the remarkable interpretation of Pan by Bacon, *Wisdom of the Ancients*. The latter mentions the leopard's skin, and adds: 'In like manner, the heavens are sprinkled with stars, the sea with islands, the earth with flowers.'

The representation of a king, as chief shepherd of his people, by Pan, is found in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* for April (Pan = Henry VIII), and before him by Marguerite de Navarre, *Comédie sur le Trespas du Roi* (*Dernières Poésies*, ed. Lefranc, pp. 37 ff.); Marot, *Églogue au Roy* (*op. cit.* 1. 39 ff.): Petrarch, *Ecl.* 12 (*Confutatio*).

Pan was sometimes represented as youthful in face and figure, after the model of the Polycletan Doryphoros, with inconspicuous horns, and having his sheep-hook resting against his right shoulder, while the syrinx is held in the left (the Good Shepherd of early Christian art is represented sometimes as playing a Pan's pipe, sometimes as merely holding one: cf. Lowrie, p. 68); see Roscher, *Lexikon*, coll. 1414–7.

90. **Was.** Milton more frequently uses *be* than *have* with *come* and *gone*.

kindly. Either 'in accordance with his nature,' or 'with a benevolent intention.' Shakespeare has both senses; cf. the pun in *Lear* 1. 5. 15: 'thy other daughter will use thee kindly.' In all other cases (4), Milton employs the word (as an adjective) in the former sense.

below. Emphasizing the idea of the Christian God.

91. **loves.** Perhaps in allusion to pastoral poetry.

92. **silly.** L. 'harmless, innocent.' Cf. Germ. *selig*. See Vaughan, *The Shepheards*:

> Perhaps some harmless cares for the next day
> Did in their bosomes play,
> As where to lead their sheep, which silent nook,
> What springs or shades to look.

93. **such.** Used three times more in this stanza and the next.

94. **greet.** So Edward Bolton, *Shepheard's Song* (*England's Helicon*, 1600, p. 147):

> Such music, heavenly rare,
> Mine ears (O peers) doth greet.

95. **strook.** The past part. in Milton is *strook* (6), *struck* (3), *strucken* (1).

96. **warbled.** Nearly = 'modulated.' There seems to remain in the word something of the notion of trilling like a bird. Cf. *Il P.* 106:

> Such notes as warbled to the string.

voice. This rimes again with *noise* in *Sol. Music* 17–18, four or five years later:

> That we on earth, with undiscording voice,
> May rightly answer that melodious noise.

Verity quotes Spenser, *Ruins of Time* 613–4:

> Whilst all the way most heavenly noyse was heard
> Of the strings, stirred with the warbling wind.

97. **Answering.** Singing to the harp or other instrument of music was known from antiquity. Cl. Ps. 33. 2; Isa. 23. 16; Amos 6. 5; Rev. 5. 8, 9; Homer, *Il.* 9. 186, 189; 18. 569–572; *Od.* 1. 155; 4. 17–18; 8. 266; 17. 261–3; *Hom. Hymn to Apollo*; *Hom. Hymn to Hermes*; Paus. 10. 7. See *P.L.* 2. 546 ff.; 3. 365 ff.; 4. 680–688; 7. 258 ff.; 11. 583; *Sol. Music* 5–16; *Vac. Ex.* 37–8.

stringèd. Produced by strings. This is a somewhat bold extension of the meaning implicit in *-ed.*

noise. Used for melodious sound from Chaucer to Coleridge.

98. **As.** We must either supply *Such* before *Divinely*, or else interpret *As* as nearly a relative pronoun (*New. Eng. Dict.* s. v., 24).

all their souls. The whole of each one's soul, rather than the souls of all of them.

blissful rapture. Somewhat pleonastic.

took. Cf. *Com.* 256, 558; *P.L.* 2. 554. See also, for this sense of 'charm or captivate,' Shakespeare, *Temp.* 5. 1, 313; *W.T.* 4. 4. 119.

100. **thousand.** For an indefinitely large number. So *Lyc.* 135; *Sol. Music* 12, etc. (see L.).

102. **hollow round.** Keightley already explains as 'lunar sphere.' Cf. 125, and *P.L.* 7. 257.

103. **Cynthia's.** Cynthia is again used for the moon in *Il P.* 59.

seat. Cf. *P.L.* 1. 785: 'the Moon sits arbitress.'

airy region. Probably a reminiscence of Shakespeare, *R. and J.* 2. 2. 21. Cf. the *ætheria plaga* of Virgil, *Æn.* 1. 394; 9. 638, and the *aerios tractus* of *Culex* 22. Jebb translates by *ætheris in plagis.*

106. **its.** Only here and *P.L.* 1. 254; 4. 813 (Verity).

last fulfilling. Pleonastic.

107. **such harmony alone.** Either, 'such harmony without assistance' or, 'nothing but such harmony.' If the first, then the meaning would be: 'Were this harmony to be continued, Nature's assistance would be superfluous': but this would fail to take account of the comparative in 'happier.' If the second, it would mean: 'No other agency could effect a union superior to the present,' which might imply that Nature's rule would then be positively detrimental. This, however, would be to ignore the harmony of the spheres (cf. 131), which must be included within the scope of Nature.

Jebb renders:

> Nec postulari iam sua fœdera
> Ut terra cum cælo iugetur,
> Quos melius iuget ille cautus.

110. **globe.** This carries a connotation of the Latin *globus*, in the sense of compact troop, as in Virgil, *Æn.* 10. 373. This sense is found in *P.L.* 2. 512; *P.R.* 4. 581. Fletcher had employed it nineteen years before, in his *Christ's Victory*: 'A globe of winged angels.' Another example is later (1648), and is by Joseph Beaumont, *Psyche* 7. 217:

> Behold, a sudden globe of pliant Light
> Into a stranger apparition parted:
> . . . . . .
> A numerous quire of Angels we descry'd.

circular. If this means 'spherical,' it seems superfluous; but can it have the usual sense of *circular*? Jebb renders by *solis instar*:

> Mox solis instar suspicientibus
> Affulget orbis flammifer.

But it is hard to reconcile this with Milton's words, or even to imagine it. Does it not mean that the whole dome of the sky is filled with angels, rank above rank?

111. **long beams.** Cf. *Com.* 340: 'thy long levelled rule of streaming light.'

night arrayed. Cf. Mantuan, *Opera* 1. 73 a:

> Nam jubar immensum cœlo deduxerat infans,
> Illustrique die noctis disjecerat umbram.

112. **cherubim.** According to the classification of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (4th or 5th century) the angels are divided inte nine orders, of which the seraphim are the first, and the cherubim the second. The Bible, on the other hand, nowhere identifies these with angels. For Milton's picture of a cherub as an angel, see *P.L.* 3. 636 ff.

113. **seraphim.** Cf. *P.L.* 2. 512; *Sol. Mus.* 10.

114. **wings displayed.** Cf. Sannazaro, *Part. Virg.* 1. 107: 'ingentes explicat alas.'

115. **harping.** Milton seems to have in view Rev. 14. 2.

loud. Cf. Ps. 33. 2, 3; 98. 4, 5.

solemn. Cf. Ps. 92. 3; *Sol. Mus.* 8.

116. **unexpressive.** Inexpressible, as in *Lyc.* 176; Shakespeare, *A.Y.L.* 3. 2. 10.

At this point there seems to be no singing, but only harping. Is it because the notes are instrumental, and not vocal, that they are 'unexpressive' here? Such an explanation, however, would not fit the passage in *Lycidas*.

119. **Of old.** Perhaps a reminiscence of Ps. 102. 25: 'Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth.'

The sons of morning sung. Job 38. 7: 'When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.' Cf. note on *host*, 21, and *P.L.* 7. 557 ff. (253 ff., 275).

constellations. Such constellations are mentioned in verses 31, 32 of this same chapter, and in Job 9. 9; Amos 5. 8. The word 'constellations' is once used in the Bible: Isa. 13. 10.

122. A parallel to this is *P.L.* 7. 242:

> And Earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung,

which seems to be indebted to Ovid, *Met.* 1. 13–14:

> Pendebat in aere tellus
> Ponderibus librata suis.

hinges. Perhaps the North and South Poles, as the extremities of the earth's axis. Cf. Lat. *cardo*.

123. **foundations.** Job 38. 4: Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? Cf. *P.L.* 6. 869–870:

> Fate had cast too deep
> Her dark foundations;

and *Ad Patrem* 47 (quoted by Verity): 'positi late fundamina Mundi.'

cast. Used for the *ponebam* of Job 38. 4. Cf. Ps. 104. 5; Isa 51. 13, 16; Zech. 12. 1.

dark. A possible allusion to Job 38. 9: 'When I made ... thick darkness a swaddling band for it'—though this refers to the sea.

deep. Perhaps cf. Ps. 95. 4: 'In his hand are the deep places of the earth.'

124. Job 38. 8, 11: 'Or who shut up the sea with doors, . . . and said, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed'?

oozy. Shakespeare several times has *ooze* and *oozy*, with reference to the sea: *Temp.* 1. 2. 252; 5. 1. 151; *Hen. V* 1. 2. 164; *Cymb.* 4. 2. 205. *Oozy* suggests 'slimy' to us, which hardly seems appropriate for the bottom of a weltering ocean.

channel. A Biblical word, with relation to the sea. Cf. 2 Sam. 22. 16 (Ps. 18. 15): 'And the channels of the sea appeared, the foundations of the world were discovered.'

125. **Ring out.** Thomas Warton (see Milton, ed. Todd, 1809, 6. 473) thinks that Milton is fond of the verb *ring*, 'for violence of sound, . . . in a good sense.' He quotes several examples, among others *P.L.* 7. 562:

> The heaven and all the constellations rung.

crystal spheres. According to what is generally known as the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, the motions of the heavenly bodies were accounted for by supposing a series of concentric hollow spheres, or heavens. The earth was the immovable centre of this system. The outermost of the movable spheres was the Crystalline Heaven, or *Primum Mobile*, whose revolution takes place in about twenty-four hours, carrying with it all the other eight heavens, without, however, interfering with their special revolutions. From the earth outward the successive spheres are those of the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the fixed stars. Each of these spheres is kept in rotation by a special intelligence, or angel, a conception due to Aristotle (*Metaphys.* 12. 8); see, for example, Toynbee, *Dante Dictionary*, under *Cielo cristallino*; Zeller, *Aristotle*, Eng. trans., 1. 489 ff. This theory of spheres seems to have originated with Anaximander, from whom it was borrowed by the Pythagoreans and Parmenides. Plato adopted it from the Pythagoreans, and was followed by Eudoxus and Callippus, and so, in course of time, it was embodied in the Ptolemaic system (Zeller, p. 492, note 1). That these spheres were transparent follows from the fact that the more distant bodies can be seen through all the intervening spheres.

The idea of a celestial music produced by the revolution of

these spheres, and dependent partly upon the distance between the spheres, and partly upon their relative velocities of rotation, was originated by Pythagoras. The earliest definite theory, recorded by one Nicomachus, of about the middle of the second century A.D. (*Enchirid. Harm.*, ed. Meibom, p. 33), supposes an interval of a semitone between Mercury and the sun, and another between Jupiter and Saturn, the rest of the intervals being whole tones. The planets are seven (counting the sun as one). The lowest note is assigned to Saturn, and the highest to the moon. By adding the earth at the one extremity, and the heaven of the fixed stars at the other, and by postulating different intervals from those of Nicomachus, Censorinus (*De Die Nat.*, A.D. 238, chap. 13: cf. Pliny, *H.N.* 2. 22. 20) finds that the sum of all the intervals constitutes a diapason, or octave. Plato (*Timæus*, p. 35), followed by Cicero (*Somn. Scip.*, chap. 5; *De Nat. Deor.* 3. 11) has still another scheme.

Pythagoras, believing that he alone comprehended this celestial music, taught his pupils to imitate it with harp and voice. Hence Cicero tells us (*Somn. Scip.*): 'Some learned men, by imitating this harmony with strings and vocal melodies, have opened a way for their return to this place [heaven].'

Plato (*Rep.*, Bk. 10, p. 617), in his myth of Er, conceives of circles, rather than spheres; and with him the music is produced by sirens (cf. Milton, *Arc.* 64 ff.): 'Aloft upon each of the circles of the spindle is mounted a siren, which goeth round with her circle, uttering one note at one pitch; and the notes of all the eight together do make one melody.' Others have distributed the nine muses to the various spheres (Plutarch, *Symp.*, Bk. 9; Martianus Capella, *De Nupt. Phil.* 1. 27, 28). Cf. Dekker, quoted in Park's *Heliconia* 3. 447:

> Bridegroome of morning, dayes eternall king,
> To whom nine Muses (in a sacred ring)
> In daunces sphericall, trip hand in hand,
> Whilst thy seaven-stringed lute theyr feete commaund;
> Whose motion such proportioned measure beares,
> That to the musicke daunce nine heavenly spheares.

Cf. Lydgate, *Reson and Sensuallyte*, ed. Sieper, 276–282. Add Drummond (*Muses' Library* 1. 34–5):

> Of quiristers, more sweet than lute or voice
> (For those harmonious sounds to Jove are given
> By the swift touches of the nine-string'd heaven).

The relation of Pan to the heavenly music has been touched on above (note on 89).

The conception of the music of the spheres was seized on by Christian writers, and so has been transmitted to the present, one of the latest authors to make an independent use of it being Goethe, in his 'Prolog im Himmel' to the drama of *Faust*. For the whole subject see Piper, *Myth. der Christlichen Kunst* 2. 245–276. Christian authors often appealed to Job 38. 37, in the Vulgate: '*Concentum cœli* quis dormire faciet?'

Dante (*Purg.* 30. 92–3) seems to have been the first to suggest the singing of angels in harmony with the music of thespheres: 'The chanting of those who are ever quiring after the notes of the eternal circles.' Cf. note on *host*, 21. Dante also refers to the music of the spheres in *Par.* 1. 78; 6. 125–6.

Other passages which deal with the subject are such as *Rom. de la Rose* 17886–91 (tr. Ellis 17757–62); Boccaccio, *Tes.* 11. 1. 6–8 (tr. by Chaucer, *T. and C.* 5. 1811–3); Chaucer, *Parl. F.* 60–63; Du Bartas 2. 2. 4. 718–727 (Grosart 1. 160; cf. 2. 1. 4. 540–8: Grosart 1. 127); Chapman, *Ovid's Banquet*, stanzas 21 and 99; Dekker, *Westward Ho* 4. 2; Shakespeare, *M.V.* 5. 1. 60–62; *A.Y.L.* 2. 7. 6; *Per.* 5. 1. 230; *Tw. N.* 3. 1. 20–1; *A. and C.* 5. 2. 83–4; Jonson, *Sad Shepherd* 3. 2; P. Fletcher, *P.I.* 10. 249–252; Davies, *Orchestra* 19, 392–4, 605; Herbert, *Artillerie* 9–10; Vaughan, *Christ's Nativity*, and *The Morning-Watch*; John Norris of Bemerton, *Hymn to Darkness*; Dryden, *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*; *Ode to Mrs. Anne Killigrew*; Butler, *Hudibras* 2. 1. 617; Young, *Night Thoughts*, Bk. 3; Wordsworth, *Prelude* 14. 99; Coleridge, *Music*; Keble, *St. Matthew's Day*; Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus* 3. 8; Rossetti, *Blessed Damozel* (or Job 38. 7); Tennyson, *Parnassus*; Longfellow, *Occultation of Orion.*

Milton has other references: *Com.* 112, 441—3, 1021; *Sol. Mus.* 2; *P.L.* 5. 169, 178, 620 ff.

127. **If ye have power.** Cicero (*Somn. Scip.*) explains that our ears are so accustomed to the 'sphery chime' that we are insensible to the sounds.

128. **silver chime.** Does this apply more particularly to the treble? See *P.L.* 11. 559; *Com.* 1021. Todd refers to Machin, *The Dumb Knight* (1608):

> It was as silver as the chime of spheres.

129. **melodious.** Somewhat loosely used: cf. 'melodious tear,' *Lyc.* 14.

130. **base.** This was assigned to the furthest sphere by Nicomachus, and by Servius on Virgil, *Æn.* 2. 255, but to that of the moon by Cicero and Martianus Capella.

deep. Perhaps as applied to thunder in *P.L.* 2. 267; *Ps.* 81. 29, but one might also think of the whole range of the spheres in space.

organ. Dorylæus, as quoted by Censorinus, *De Die Nat.*, chap. 13, calls the planetary system God's organ, *organum Dei* (Piper 2. 251).

blow. Cf. *P.L.* 6. 60, but especially *Il P.* 161: 'let the pealing organ blow.'

131. **ninefold.** See 125, note. Verity refers to *Arc.* 64, and to Sylvester (ed. Grosart 2. 37).

132. **consort.** Accord, agreement.

angelic symphony. This is given the precedence throughout; the natural is exhorted to 'keep in time with Heaven' (*Sol. Mus.* 26).

symphony. Harmony.

134. **fancy.** Imagination.

135. **age of gold.** Cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 4. 9 ff.

136. **speckled.** L. 'plague-spotted, tainted, polluted.' Cf. the *maculosum nefas* of Horace, *Od.* 4. 5. 22 (Joseph Warton). Shakespeare uses *spotted* and *stained* in this way: *Rich. II* 3. 2. 134; *Lucr.* 196, etc.

T. Rutherfurd Clark translates the Horatian line:

> Good laws, good customs, cleanse our leprosies.

Vanity. Perhaps cf. Eph. 4. 17, 18.

138. **leprosies.** Leprosy seems to be regarded as a type of sin in Ps. 51. 7; cf. Lev. 14. 2–7. Chrysostom says (*Hom. 3 on Titus*): 'Sin is a leprosy, various and multiform': Alain de Lille, *De Planctu Nat.*, Prose 5, ll. 272–3 (tr. Moffat) says: 'The snow-white leprosy of licentiuosness has destroyed great numbers.' Cf. Todd's note.

melt. Cf. Shakespeare, *A. and C.* 3. 13. 90: 'authority melts from me.'

from earthly mould. Either from humanity (cf. *Arc.* 72–3, 'the heavenly tune, which none can hear *Of human mould*) or from the earth (cf. *Com.* 17, 'the rank vapours of this sin-worn mould').

140. The *Iliad* (20. 61–65) has the lord of the underworld fearing lest the world be cloven above him, and his dwelling-place be laid bare to mortals and immortals. Cf. *Æn.* 8. 243–6 (T. Warton):

> Si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens
> Infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat
> Pallida, dis invisa, superque immane barathrum
> Cernatur, trepidentque immisso lumine Manes.

Add Mantuan, *Opera* 1. 236a:

> Fuit tremor usque in Tartara, et umbræ
> Tartareæ timuere omnes ne terra dehiscens
> Concideret, Stygiasque domos ostenderet astris.

Other passages are: Seneca, *Œd.* 582–5; Sannazaro, *Part. Virg.* 1. 387–9.

her. Cf. *it self*, 139, and *its*, 106.

141. **Truth and Justice.** With evident allusion to Ps. 85. 10, 11, where Mercy (144) is also mentioned. This was one of the Psalms translated by Milton. Verse 11 of the Psalm is the Antiphon for the Second Nocturn of Christmas Day, in the Breviary. The same verse was the text of the sermon by Dr. Thomas Goodwin at the opening of Parliament, Jan. 27, 1659, when Richard Cromwell was installed as Protector (cf. John Ker, *The Psalms in Hist. and Biog.*, pp. 112–3). In *Piers Plowman* (C. 21), after the description of the Harrowing of Hell, 'Truth makes her covenant with Peace, and Righteousness [Justitia] kisses her reverently' (Prothero, *The Psalms in Human Life*). For the extensive use of Ps. 85. 10, 11 in literature, see Hope Traver, *The Four Daughters of God.*

Milton is also, no doubt, alluding to the 'Jam redit et Virgo' of Virgil, *Ecl.* 4. 6; cf. Pope, *Messiah* 18–20. On the departure of Astræa from earth, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 149–50; Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 19 ff. Cf. Milton, *Eleg.* 4. 81–2; *D.F.I.* 50–51.

144–5. The ed. of 1645 reads:

> Th'enameld *Arras* of the Rainbow wearing,
> And Mercy set between.

Ed. 1673 reads:

> Orb'd in a Rain-bow; and like glories wearing
> Mercy will sit between.

I follow ed. 1673, which manifestly offers the better reading.

143. **Orbed in a rainbow.** Milton is no doubt here taking a hint from pictures of the Virgin which exhibit her as completely surrounded by the aureole, or glory, often represented as what is called the *mandorla*, or *vesica piscis*. *Orbed in a rainbow* will then mean invested with a 'glory' of rainbow colors; this gives point to the 'glories' attributed to Mercy.

rainbow. Cf. Ezek. 1. 28; Rev. 4. 3; 10. 1.

like. Similar.

144. **Mercy.** Probably to be associated with Justice and Truth in *D.F.I.* 50–54, the emendation of Heskin in line 53 being accepted.

Mercy is associated with justice in *P.L.* 3. 132–4, 406–7; 10. 58–9, 77–9. Cf. 3. 333–8; 12. 545–550.

146. The detail of this is not clear to me. How does one steer with radiant feet? Is *down* a preposition or an adverb? And why emphasize the radiance of the feet? If one could substitute 'wings' for 'feet' the interpretation would be easier, for one can hardly suppose winged feet, like those of Mercury.

Jebb renders:

> Nubes coruscas mille coloribus
> Splendente findet tramite Lenitas.

tissued. 'Brilliant in color' (L.); but query?

148. **gates.** Homer, *Il.* 5. 749–751; 8. 393–5: 'Self-moving groaned upon their hinges the gates of heaven.' These are of cloud. Cf. Gen. 28. 17; Ovid, *Met.* 1. 172. See *P.L.* 3. 515; 5. 253; 1. 171; 7. 206, 565; *Vac. Ex.* 34.

palace-hall. We have 'the great palace of the sky' in Ovid, *Met.* 1. 176; cf. Virgil, *G.* 503; *Æn.* 7. 210–1; 10. 1; Lucan 1. 45–7. See also the *templa* of Lucretius 1. 1014, 1064, etc.

149. **Fate.** So *P.L.* 2. 809, and elsewhere.

152. **bitter cross.** Perhaps a reminiscence of *1 Hen. IV* 1. 1. 27. Cf. 25, note.

153. **redeem.** L. 'make good.'

loss. L. 'spiritual ruin,' comparing *P.L.* 3. 308; 9. 131 (see *L.*, *lose*, 1. b); cf. Cowper, *Tiroc.* 166.

155. **ychained.** The *y-* is the Old English prefix *ge-*, frequently used in past participles. See *yclept*, *L'Al.* 12; *star-ypointing*, *Ep. on Shak.* 4.

sleep. Death, as in the Bible.

156. **wakeful.** Arousing, wakening.

trump. Sannazaro (*Part. Virg.* 1. 384–5), like Milton, brings this into close relation with the destruction of hell:

> Sed tempus erit quum Martia rauco
> Mugitu cælum quatiet tuba.

157. **clang.** The Latin of Exod. 19. 16 has *clangor*, where the English has *voice* (of the trumpet).

158. **Sinai.** See Exod. 19. 16 ff.

159. **smouldering.** With a suggestion of the smoke of Exod. 19. 18. Cf. Todd's note.

164. **middle air.** Cf. Dan. 7. 13; Matt. 24. 30; Rev. 1. 7; *P.L.* 12. 545. See also *P.L.* 1. 516.

shall spread his throne. *Spread* seems to be due to a kind of confusion here. In Jer. 43. 10 a pavilion is spoken of as spread, as a tent is in Gen. 33. 19; 35. 21; 2 Sam. 16. 22; Isa. 40. 22; and so Milton has (*P.L.* 2. 960), 'and his dark pavilion spread.' In *P.L.* 10. 445–7, a throne is spread, under a kind of baldachin or canopy, which may be likened to a pavilion:

> Ascended his high throne, which, under state
> Of richest texture spread, at the upper end
> Was placed in regal lustre.

This is clearly indebted to Jer. 43. 10, referred to above: 'and will set his throne upon those stones that I have laid; and he shall spread his royal pavilion over them.' Accordingly, there is a kind of contamination between the first clause and the second of this passage, so that 'set his throne' and 'spread his royal pavilion' yield 'spread his throne'; and this may account for the 'spread' of both *P.L.* 10. 446 and our line.

165–7. Thus Milton spans the whole period from the Nativity to the Last Judgment.

168. **Dragon.** Cf. Rev. 20. 1–3; 12. 3–9; *P.L.* 12. 453 ff. See also Mantuan, *Opera* 1. 72 a:

> Sunt quoque qui summun traxisse per æthera caudam
> Fronte sub ardenti mersa Phlegethonte Draconem
> Commemorent.

169. **straiter.** Cf. Isa. 49. 20: 'The place is too strait for me.'

170. **usurpèd.** Cf. *P.L.* 10. 189; *P.R.* 4. 182–3.

171. Jebb translates:

> quassat retorquens
> Squamigeræ fera flagra caudæ.

swinges. Verity quotes from Du Bartas (Grosart 1. 75) concerning a lion:

> Then often swindging, with his sinewy train
> Sometimes his sides, sometimes the dusty plain.

scaly. Cf. *P.L.* 2. 651–2:

> Many a scaly fold,
> Voluminous and vast.

Add Spenser, *F.Q.* 1. 7. 31. 9.

horror. Cf. Lucretius 2. 410–11:

> serræ stridentis acerbum
> Horrorem constare elementis levibus.

6. 1011:

ferri natura et frigidus horror.

Also Ps. 91. 5: 'Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night.'

173. Hales says: 'That the oracles ceased at and from the birth of Christ was a very general belief; but it was baseless.'

Milton seems to have been indebted to Prudentius, *Apoth.* 435–443:

> Ex quo mortalem præstrinxit spiritus alvum,
> Spiritus ille Dei, Deus et se corpore matris
> Induit, et hominem de virginitate creavit,
> Delphica dampnatis tacuerunt sortibus antra,
> Non tripodas cortina tegit, non spumat anhelus
> Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
> Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona vapores,
> Mortua jam mutæ lugent oracula Cumæ,
> Nec responsa refert Libycis in Syrtibus Ammon.

In the following lines from the same poem, we seem to have suggestions for Milton's 'pale-eyed priest' (*sacerdos pallidus*), 'hideous hum' (*arcanum murmur*), 'flamens' (*flamen*), etc.: *Apoth.* 469–471, 474, 477–8, 483–4, 489:

> Cum subito exclamat media inter sacra sacerdos
> Pallidus: 'En quid ago? maius rex optime, maius
> Numen nescio quod nostris intervenit aris.'
> . . . . . .
> 'Accitas video longe dispergier umbras.
> . . . . . .
> 'Nil agit arcanum murmur, nil Thessala prosunt
> Carmina, turbatus revocat nulla hostia manes.
> . . . . . .
> 'Flamen et ipse suas miratur vertice laurus
> Cedere, et incertum frustratur victima ferrum.'
> . . . . . .
> Dixit, et exanguis conlabitur.

Add Symmachus, Lib. 4, ep. 33; Jerome on Isa. 41. 21 ff. (*Patr. Lat.* 24. 418). Milton of course knew the passage from Plutarch quoted by Spenser; see note on 89. Porphyry, quoted by Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* 5. 16, has:

> Naught can restore the Pythian voice divine;
> Enfeebled by long ages, it hath laid
> The keys of silence on the oracle.

Dodwell, *Class. and Topog. Tour through Greece* (London, 1819) 1. 195, reports a tradition of the Castriotes to the effect that, at the birth of Christ, a priest of Apollo, who was sacrificing near Delphi, suddenly stopped, and declared that the son of a god was at that moment born whose power would equal that of Apollo, but that the Delphian god would ultimately triumph over the newborn divinity. The words were scarcely finished when the rock was rent in two by a clap of thunder, and the priest consumed to ashes by a flash of lightning; cf. 1. 178.

Modern writers on the oracles refer for proof of their cessation about this time to Lucan 5. 69–70, 102–5, 111 ff., 131 ff.; Juvenal 6. 553–6; Strabo 7. 7. 9, p. 327; 9. 3. 4, p. 418; Cicero, *De Div.* 1. 19; 2. 57. See *Rhein. Mus.* 51. 377; Homolle, in *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 20 (1896). 705, 709, 717–8, 721, 728–30.

For a bibliography of Renaissance writers on oracles, see G. Wolff, *Porphyrii de Philosophia ex Oraculis haurienda*, Berlin, 1856, pp. 229 ff.

The oracles are dumb. Cf. Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victory*:

> The angels caroled loud their song of peace;
> The cursed oracles were stricken dumb;
> To see their Shepherd the poor shepherds press.

Also De Mornay, *A Worke concerning the Truenesse of Christian Religion* [translated by Sir Philip Sidney and Arthur Golding], 3d ed., London, 1604, p. 552: 'Also Celsus the Epicure saith, that the Oracles of Claros, Delphos, and Dodon were stricken dumb.' Add Drummond, *The Miserable Estate of the World* 13–14 (*Muses' Library* 2. 7):

> When, pitying man, God of a virgin's womb
> Was born, and those false deities struck dumb.

Cf. Spenser, *Shep. Cal.*, May, Gloss. and Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors* 7. 12 (*Works*, ed. Wilkin, 3. 330–1).

For Milton's opinion of these oracles, see *P.R.* 430 ff., esp. 457–9.

173. **hideous hum.** See Prudentius, *Apoth.* 477 (note on 172), and add Lucan 5. 104, 149, 152–3, 192, 218; Juvenal 10. 289; Ovid, *Met.* 203, 327–8; 7. 251.

175. **archèd roof.** Of the cave. Cf. Virgil, *Æn.* 6. 77–8: 'in antro bacchatur vates'; 6. 99: 'antroque remugit.'

deceiving. Cf. *P.R.* 1. 430 ff. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 2. 16: 'They [dæmons] especially deceive in the case of oracles, the juggleries of which the profane cannot distinguish from the truth.' For the view that dæmons were the mediators of oracles, cf.

Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* 3. 17; 5. 1; 5. 17; Plutarch, *De Def. Orac.*, chap. 12.

shrine. Cf. the *adytus* of Virgil, *Æn.* 2. 115; Horace, *Od.* 1. 16. 5; and the *adyto* of Lucan 5. 85.

178. **steep of Delphos.** Cf. *P.L.* 1. 517: 'the Delphian cliff.' The 'steep of Delphos' is not strictly 'Mount Parnassus' (L.), the cliffs of which tower 800 feet perpendicularly above Delphi, but the terrace, or rather succession of five or six terraces, of slaty rock upon which Delphi was situated, in the form of an immense amphitheatre. These terraces are perhaps 1700 or 1800 feet above the bed of the Pleistos, and it requires twenty minutes to make the steep descent. In the *Hom. Hymn to Apollo*, the god is described as coming to Crisa, 'beneath snowy Parnassus, to a knoll that faced westward, but above it hangs a cliff, and a hollow dell runs under.' The 'high platform of rock' is described by Jebb (on Sophocles, *O.T.* 463) as sloping out 'from the south face of the cliff.' Cf. Euripides, *Ion* 1266–8:

> Seize her!—Parnassus' jagged terraces
> Shall card the dainty tresses of her hair
> When quoitwise down the rocks she shall be hurled.

Gray, *Progress of Poesy* 66, has:

> Woods, that wave o'er Delphi's steep.

Delphos. The form is found again in *P.R.* 1. 458, and four times in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, and frequently elsewhere; it of course represents the Latin acc. plur. of *Delphi*.

179. **Nightly.** Nocturnal.

breathèd spell. Cf. Lucan 5. 82–5:

> Ut vidit Pæan vastos telluris hiatus
> Divinam *spirare* fidem, ventosque loquaces.
> Exhalare solum, sacris se condidit antris,
> Incubuitque adyto, vates ibi factus, Apollo.

180. **pale-eyed.** If one were a Bentley, one might be tempted to read *pallid*; cf. the 'pallid priest' of Prudentius, *Apoth.* 469–470 (quoted in note on 173) and the 'liventesque genas' and 'terribilis sed pallor inest' of Lucan 5. 215–6. But Pope accepts the usual reading, since he has (*Eloïsa* 21, quoted by Todd): 'Shrines! where their vigils pale-ey'd virgins keep'; and Jebb translates, 'pallentis obtutum ministri.' Shakespeare has 'dull-eyed,' *M.V.* 3. 3. 14; *Per.* 1. 2. 2; and Hales quotes *Hen. V* 4. 2. 48, where there is mention

of the 'pale-dead eyes' of horses. Cf. Keats, *Ode to a Nightingale* 28: 'leaden-eyed despair.'

prophetic cell. Pausanias (9. 39) thus describes the cave of Trophonius; 'Inside is a cavity in the earth, not natural, but artificial, and built with great skill. And the shape of this cavity resembles that of an oven, the breadth of which (measured diametrically) may be considered to be about four cubits, and the depth not more than eight cubits. There are no steps to the bottom; but when any one descends to Trophonius, they furnish him with a narrow and light ladder.'

181. **lonely mountains.** Elsewhere mountains have a 'barren breast' (*L'Al.* 73), are 'cold' (*Somn.* 18. 2), or 'wild' (*Pass.* 51). One might compare Judg. 11. 37, 38 (cf. Jer. 9. 10). Mountains are associated with deserts in Heb. 11. 38; see also Rev. 6. 15, 16.

182. **resounding shore.** Cf. 'sounding shores' *Lyc.* 154.

183. **A voice of weeping.** From Matt. 2. 18 (Jer. 31. 15); cf. Ps. 6. 8 (see Milton's trans.); Jer. 9. 19, etc.

loud lament. Also *P.L.* 8. 244; cf. 10. 845.

184. **haunted.** Frequented; cf. *L'Al.* 130, 'haunted stream.' See also *P.L.* 3. 27; 4. 708; 7. 330; *Il P.* 138, etc. Thus Homer, *Il.* 20. 8–9: 'nor any nymph of all that haunt (*νέμονται*) fair thickets, and springs of rivers, and grassy water-meadows.' Cf. *Com.* 119–121:

> By dimpled brook and fountain-brim,
> The wood-nymphs, decked with daisies trim,
> Their merry wakes and pastimes keep.

See art. Nymphs in Osgood, *The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems* (*Yale Studies in English*, No. 8).

dale. The passages quoted in the following note rather suggest 'mead' or 'meadow.'

185. **Edged with poplar pale.** The Greek poets associate poplars with springs. Thus Homer, *Od.* 6. 291–2: 'Near our road you will see a stately grove of poplar trees, belonging to Athene; in it a fountain flows, and round it is a meadow.' Similarly, *Od.* 5. 63–4, 70–71; 9. 140–141; 17. 204–211. See Theocritus, *Id.* 7. 135–7: 'And high above our heads waved many a poplar, many an elm-tree, while close at hand the sacred water from the nymphs' own cave welled forth with murmurs musical.' And add Euripides, *Hipp.* 208–211 (tr. Gilbert Murray):

> Oh for a deep and dewy spring,
> With runlets cold to draw and drink!
> And a great meadow blossoming,

Long-grassed, and poplars in a ring,
To rest me by the brink!

poplar pale. Probably the abele, white poplar, or silver poplar. In the passages cited from the Greek, it is the black poplar (*αἴγειρος*) that is named, the silver poplar being *ἀχερωΐς*, or (post-Homeric) *λεύκη*. For the white poplar, cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 9. 41; *Æn.* 8. 276; Horace, *Od.* 2. 3. 9; Ovid, *Her.* 9. 64. On the fondness of the poplar for water, see Ovid, *Met.* 5. 590; *Rem. Am.* 141.

186. **genius.** Tutelary divinity; cf. *Arcades* 44 ff. Jebb renders by 'Faunus.'

187. **flower-inwoven tresses.** Cf. Tibullus 3. 6. 63–4; Ovid, *F.* 5. 217–220.

Hales says: 'This is a favorite arrangement of words with Milton.' See "beckoning shadows dire," "every alley green," "thick and gloomy shadows damp," &c. &c.'

torn. Lucian testifies to the tearing of the hair in sign of grief (*Of Mourning* 12): 'Men and women alike weep and *rend their hair* and lacerate their cheeks'; cf. Ezra 9. 3.

188. **mourn.** Nymphs are represented as howling in *Æn.* 4. 168.

189. **consecrated earth.** Keightley says the Lars and Lemures , had nothing to do with consecrated earth, by which he [Milton] would seem to mean a churchyard, a thing unknown to the ancients.' Cicero testifies to the recognition of consecrated earth among the Romans, the classic passage being *De Legibus* 2. 21, 22. The consecration included a sacrifice to the Lar, and the throwing of earth upon the remains. On such consecrated earth (*solum religiosum*), see also Gaius, *Inst.* 2. 6 ff. Sometimes the tomb bore the inscription: 'Dis Manibus Locus Consecratus' (*C.I.L.* 4351).

Hales says: 'The words *in consecrated earth* refer to the *Lemures*; *on the holy hearth*, to the Lars.'

190. **holy hearth.** Cf. Plautus, *Aul.* 2. 8. 16:

Hæc imponentur in foco nostro Lari.

Pliny, *H.N.* 28. 20. 81: 'Focus Larium, quo familia convenit.' Ovid, *Pont.* 2. 1. 32:

Jura prius sanctis imposuisse focis.

Cf. Ovid, *F.* 3. 30, 734; 4. 296.

191. **Lars and Lemures.** Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 9. 11, quotes Plotinus as saying that men's souls are dæmons, and become Lars

if their merits be good; if evil, Lemures, goblins; if uncertain, Manes. This distinction, however, is not observed by Milton. Jerome, commenting on Isa. 57. 7 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 24. 551), touches upon the worship of the Lares. as does the *Codex Theodosianus* 16. 10. 12 (ed. Haenel, coll. 1617–8).

Cf. Mantuan, *Opera* 1. 236b:

> Ex adytis pulsi lemures per inania terræ
> Spiramenta viam celeres iniere sub ima
> Tartara, secretisque diu latuere cavernis.

moan. For the shrieking and gibbering attributed to ghosts, cf. Homer, *Od.* 24. 6 ff.; Virgil, *Æn.* 6. 492–3; Claudian, *In Rufin.* 1. 126–8; Ovid, *F.* 2. 551; Lucan 6. 620; Statius, *Theb.* 7. 70; Shakespeare, *Haml.* 1. 1. 116; Fairfax's translation of Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 9. 15. 6.

midnight. Note the time, with reference to the birth of Christ.

192. Cf. Lucan 1. 563:

> Compositis plenæ gemuerunt ossibus urnæ.

194. **flamens.** In the *Areopagitica* Milton says of the Romans that 'the pontifical college, with their augurs and flamens, taught them in religion and law.' Verity quotes the reference in *Of Reformation* (*P.W.* 2. 365) to the 'palls and mitres, gold and gewgaws, fetched from Aaron's old wardrobe or the flamens' vestry,' and in *The Reason of Church Government* (*P.W.* 2. 485) to 'flaminical vestures.'

195. **sweat.** So Virgil, *G.* 1. 480 (Dunster):

> Et mæstum inlacrimat templis ebur, æraque sudant;

Ovid, *Met.* 15. 792:

> Mille locis lacrimavit ebur.

Cicero (*De Div.* 1. 43) tells how 'the statue of Apollo at Cumæ was covered with a miraculous sweat, and that of Victory was found in the same condition at Capua'; similarly 2. 27. Augustine (*Civ. Dei* 3. 11) refers to the statue of Apollo as persisting 'four days together in continual weeping.' The *De Dea Syria* attributed to Lucian speaks of how the statues at Hierapolis 'are observed to sweat.' Lucan (1. 582–3) has:

> Indigetes flevisse deos, Urbisque laborem
> Testatos sudore Lares.

In the third eclogue (ca. 1524) of Alexander Barclay (as pointed out by Mustard, *Amer. Jour. Phil.* 29. 4) we find:

The marble pillers and images echeone
Swet all for sorowe.

196. Cf. Virgil, *Æn.* 2. 351–2 (Richardson):

Excessere omnes, adytis arisque relictis,
Di quibus imperium hoc steterat.

Add *Æn.* 2. 326–7; Horace, *Od.* 2. 1. 25–6; Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 3. 15; Æschylus, *Sept.* 218, and scholium on 310; Euripides, *Troj.* 25; Herodotus 8. 41. The remarkable story told by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5. 13), in his account of the Jewish War, must not be forgotten: 'The doors of the inner shrine were suddenly thrown open, and a voice of more than mortal tone was heard to cry that the gods were departing. At the same instant there was a mighty stir, as of departure.' Similarly Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* 6. 5. 3: 'Moreover, at that feast which we call Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the inner [court of the] temple, as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said that in the first place they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise, and after that they heard a sound as of a multitude, saying, "Let us remove hence."'

Cf. Mantuan, *Opera* 1. 193a:

Jam nova progenies cœlo descenderat alto
Et prodire alius sæclorum incœperat ordo;
Dii Phlegethontæi, regnata tyrannide longa,
Et maria et terras animis cœlestibus ægre
Cedere compulsi, errabant deserta latentes
Per nemora extremi gelido sub cardine mundi.

197. **Peor.** Properly the name of a mountain (Num. 23. 28), then used as the name of a local divinity (Num. 25. 18; 31. 16; Josh. 22. 17), identical with Baal-Peor (Deut. 4. 3; Num. 25. 5; Ps. 106. 28). Because of the association of the name of Peor with that of Balaam, there may be a confusion here of Balaam with Baalim. Thus, Num. 31. 16: 'Behold, these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against the Lord in the matter of Peor'; Rev. 2. 14: 'Thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumblingblock before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication.' Cf. Num. 25. 1–3. See *P.L.* 1. 412.

Baalim. The word occurs eighteen times in the A.V. The singular, Baal, means 'owner,' or 'lord,' and the plural, Baalim, designates a great variety of local gods. 'The Baalim were chiefly worshiped at the high-places, but also on housetops' (Hastings,

B.D. 1. 2. 10). The word Baalim is associated with Ashtaroth in Judg. 10. 6 (cf. 2. 13); 1 Sam. 7. 4; 12. 10; *P.L.* 1. 422. For the connection with unchastity, see Num. 25. 1–3; Hos. 2. 13. Verity compares Milton's reference in *Of Reformation* (*P.W.* 2. 402).

198. **temples dim.** See the 'house of Baal' (1 Kings 16. 32; 2 Kings 11. 18).

199. **twice battered god.** Cf. 1 Sam. 5. 1–5; *P.L.* 1. 457–466; *S.A.* 13, 437, etc.

200. **moonèd Ashtaroth.** *Ashtaroth* is the plural form of *Ashtoreth*, and sometimes the name of a place, while the latter always designates a deity resembling the Babylonian Ishtar and the Greek Aphrodite, and known to the Greeks as Astarte. Ashtoreth was the principal divinity of the Sidonians (1 Kings 11. 5, 33; 2 Kings 23. 13; cf. *P.L.* 1. 440). The interpretation of Ashtoreth as a moon-goddess (cf. *P.L.* 1. 439, 'with crescent horns') reposes upon (Pseudo-) Lucian, *De Dea Syria* § 4, where, speaking of the temple of Astarte at Sidon, he says that he believes her to be the moon; to the same effect Herodian 5. 6. 10. Plutarch (*Os. et Is.* § 15) says that Isis was called Astarte by some at Byblus, whither she had journeyed; cf. Sanchoniathon, ed. Orelli, p. 34). These and other similar facts seem to point, according to Driver (*op. cit.*, p. 171) to the influence of Egypt upon Phœnicia, since 'Isis and Hathor are habitually represented as supporting upon their heads, between two cow-horns, the solar disc.'

That the worship of Ashtoreth was defiled by impurities is testified by Lucian (*loc. cit.*) and by Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 3. 55. For the whole subject, see the article in Hastings, *Bibl Dict.*

201. **Heaven's queen.** The 'queen of heaven' of Jer. 7. 18; 44. 17, 18, 19, 25 was almost certainly Ashtoreth or her prototype Ishtar (Hastings, *B.D.* 1. 169), since Ishtar was queen of the gods, and princess of heaven and earth; Milton calls Ashtoreth 'queen of heaven' (*P.L.* 1. 439).

mother, Ishtar or Ashtoreth was 'the goddess of generation and productivity' (*op. cit.*, p. 169). Newton comments: 'She was called *regina cæli* and *mater Deûm*. See Selden' [*De Diis Syris*].

202. **tapers' holy shine.** In the *Codex Theodosianus* (as cited in the note on 191), no one is to adore the Lar, the Genius, or the Penates by the lighting of lights (*Nullus . . . accendat lumina*). Prudentius, *Perist.* 2. 71–2, says that it is reported concerning the Christians that

> Auroque nocturnis sacris
> Adstare fixos cereos.

203. **Libyc Hammon.** 'The God Ammon represented in the form of a ram, or in the form of a human body with a ram's head' (L.). Identified with Jupiter in *P.L.* 4. 277; 9. 508. Milton probably has Prudentius in mind, as quoted on 173. Strabo says (17. 43, p. 813): 'The oracle of Ammon, which was formerly held in great esteem, is now nearly deserted.' Cf., for the god, Ovid, *Met.* 5. 17, 328; 15. 309; *Art.* 3. 789; Juvenal 6. 555; Claudian, *Cons. IV Hon.* 143–4; Silius Italicus 23. 767–8.

shrinks his horn. Perhaps in allusion to snails; Pliny thus uses *contrahere*: *N.H.* 9. 32. 51. 101.

204. **Tyrian.** In the general sense of 'Phœnician.' *P.L.* 1. 448 has 'Syrian damsels.'

Thammuz. Ezek. 8. 14: 'Behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz.' These, however, were not Tyrian maids. Tammuz, the Greek Adonis, was a Babylonian god, the lover of Ishtar (Ashtoreth), who mourns him when he is 'cut off in the beauty of youth, or slain by the boar's tusk of winter.' The lament for him—or rather its refrain—is preserved in the latter part of Jer. 22. 18. His funeral festival at the temple of Ashtoreth on the Lebanon is described by Lucian, *De Dea Syria* § 6. Cf. *P.L.* 1. 446–457; *Com.* 999. See Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris.*

Jebb renders *Thammuz* by 'Thaumanta,' as he renders *Baalim* by 'Belus'; but of course there is no connection between either classical Thaumas (Hesiod, *Theog.* 235, etc.; Ovid, *Met.* 12. 303) and Thammuz.

205. **Moloch.** Cf. *P.L.* 1. 392–6:

> First, Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
> Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears;
> Though, for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
> Their children's cries unheard that passed through fire
> To his grim idol.

The reference in both cases is to the tradition reported by Kimchi, a mediæval Jewish commentator, on 2 Kings 23. 10. According to him, the idol was of brass, with a face like that of a calf. 'And they kindled it with fire, and the priests took the babe, and put it into the hands of Molech, and the babe gave up the ghost. . . . They used to make a noise with drums, that the father might not hear the cry of his child, and have pity upon him.' The Bible says nothing about this, but forbids the passing of children through the fire to Moloch: Lev. 18. 21. The spelling *Moloch* is from Amos 5. 26; Acts 7. 43; elsewhere *Molech* (meaning 'king.').

209. **grisly.** 'Fear-inspiring, horrible' (L.).

211. **brutish.** In the form of beasts.

212. **Isis, and Orus.** Cf. *P.L.* 1. 478. The account given of Isis and Osiris in the *Areopagitica*, evidently taken from Plutarch's *Of Isis and Osiris*, shows Milton in a less contemptuous mood towards them. There he speaks of 'the good Osiris.' Isis was the devoted sister and wife of that Osiris who, according to Plutarch (*op. cit.* 13), 'drew them off from a beggarly and bestial way of living, by showing them the use of grain, and by making them laws, and teaching them to honor the gods.' Orus (Horus) was their son.

dog Anubis. Strabo (17. 40. p. 812) tells of Cynopolis, 'where they worship the dog Anubis, and pay certain honors to dogs; a subsistence is there provided for them, as sacred animals.' References to him in the classics are fairly numerous: Virgil, *Æn.* 8. 698; Ovid, *Met.* 9. 690; *Am.* 2. 13. 11; Juv. 15. 8, etc.

213. **Osiris.** He is here represented in a twofold capacity: (1) as incarnated in the bull Apis; (2) as inhabiting his shrine. In both capacities he is restless and tormented.

214. **Memphian.** Cf. Plutarch, *Is. et Osir.* 20: 'The Apis is fed at Memphis, because he is the image of Osiris' soul, where also they will have it that his body is interred.' Add 29, 32; Strabo 17. 22, 31, 35. For the description of Apis, see Herodotus 3. 27.

215. **unshowered grass.** For the lack of rain in Egypt, cf. Herodotus 2. 22, and the authorities cited by Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 107. Cf. note on 221–3, end.

217. **sacred chest.** Cf. 220, *worshiped ark.*

218. **shroud.** 'A place of shelter or protection' (L.); cf. *P.L.* 10. 1068.

219. **timbreled.** On the use of the timbrel, or sistrum, in the religious rites of the Egyptians, and particularly in the worship of Isis, see Mayor's note on Juvenal 13. 93, and the authorities cited there.

dark. 'Mysterious' (L.); cf. *P.R.* 1. 434.

220. **sable-stolèd.** Translating the Greek μελανηφόρος. For the black-robed priests of Isis at Delos, see Lafaye, *Hist. du Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie* (*Bibl. des Écoles Franç. d'Athènes et de Rome* 33), p. 147. Cf. Boeckh on *C.I.G.* 2293 (2. 240). The word is also found in *C.I.G.* 2294, 2295, 2297; 2297 was first published, as Boeckh notes, by Bembo (*Opere*, Milan, 1809, 6. 123), from whom it was taken by Selden (*De Synedr.* II, p. 58). According to Plutarch, *Is. et Osir.* 39, at the mourning of Isis the priests cover a

gilded cow with a black linen pall. Isis herself is dressed in black, according to Plutarch, *Is. et Osir.* 52; Milton may have been thinking of μελανόστολος, the word here. Apuleius, *Metam.*, chap. 11, assigns to her a mantle of deepest black. On the use of black as mourning among the ancients, see Mayor's notes on Juvenal 3. 213; 10. 245; Marquardt, *Privatleben* (1879) 7. 346.

worshiped ark. This was done by the παστοφόροι (Diod. Sic. 1. 97. 9–10; cf. Herod. 2. 63). On this subject see Walter Otto, *Priester und Tempel im Hellenistischen Aegypten*, pp. 94 ff. See Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 275: 'In the Holy of Holies was a shrine, the so-called *naos*, inside which was a richly adorned little bark [an illustration given], containing the figure of the god. The statue could therefore have been only about two feet high. It probably resembled the little bronze figures of which we possess such a number. . . . The pictures of the Holy of Holies show only the divine bark adorned fore and aft with the head of the animal sacred to the god, and manned with a crew of small bronze figures of kings and gods; in the centre is the little deck-cabin, like a little temple, which for further protection is covered with a canopy of some stuff material. This bark was carried round in procession on great festivals, and to the outside world it was itself the image of the god. . . . . It is, however, characteristic of Egypt that a boat should play this part in that country.' Cf. Plutarch, *Is. et Osir.* 39 (cf. Parthey, p. 234); Herod. 2. 63; Apuleius, *Metam.* 11. 11; Tibullus 1. 7. 47; Claudian, *Cons. IV Honor.* 570–576; Diod. Sic. 1. 67; *C.I.G.* 4697 (Rosetta Stone 41, 42; Vol. 3, p. 540); Petrie, *Hist. Egypt* 4. 116, 157; Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 265; Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Antt.* 2. 1207; *Hermes* 3 (1868). 317 ff.

221–3. The downfall of the gods of Egypt was prophesied by Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah. Thus Isa. 19. 1: 'Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt; and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence.' Cf. Ezek. 30. 13; Jer. 43. 12, 13; 46. 25. Isa. 19. 1 is referred by various early Christian writers to the journey of Christ as an infant into Egypt. Thus Athanasius, *Orat. de Incarn. Verbi* 36–7 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 26. 157. 161); *Ep. ad. Max.* 4 (*op. cit.* 26. 1089); Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.*, Bk. 9 (*op. cit.* 22. 658–9); *ib.* 6. 20; Jerome (*Patr. Lat.* 24. 19). But the greatest currency was doubtless given to the idea by the detailed story in the Apocryphal *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, chaps. 22, 23, which relates that when Joseph and Mary, with the child, had come into Egypt, they entered a temple containing many

idols. And when they had entered, 'all the idols were prostrate on the earth, so that they all lay upon their faces wholly shattered and broken' (cf. the *Vitæ Patrum*). Modern writers who touch upon the subject are Baronius, *Annal. Eccl.* 1. 43 ff.; Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der Altchristlichen Kunst*, p. 209; Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIIe Siècle*, pp. 283–4. There is a window illustrating the story in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral of Le Mans, and a mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome.

224–5. Mantuan (*Opera* 1. 197 a) represents Jupiter as thus speaking in a council of the heathen deities:

> At neque nos tempus soli prævidimus illud:
> Prævidere alii lemures quoque. Barbara Memphis
> Novit, et Ægyptus, sua quæ simulacra per illos
> Est mirata dies; aliquo quasi territa casu
> Et tremere et mœsto pallorem ducere vultu.
> Nec velut ante loqui, mutisque silentia templis
> Observasse, novos testantia signa tumultus.
> Ipsa quoque armatas acies concurrere cœlo
> Audiit Alpinos trepidans Germania motus.
> Scimus et ex gelidis tepidum manasse cruorem
> Fontibus, et noctu medias ululasse per urbes
> Pane truces agitante lupos rabiemque ferente.
> Sic fuit omnibus hoc tam formidabile tempus
> Spiritibus, tam horrenda lues nostratibus umbris;
> Ut Stygio quæ in cœno habitant cœli astra perosæ
> Indociles larvæ, postquam didicere voluta
> Sæcula dena quater, vicinaque tempora gentis
> Christidos, ad Plutonem ierint sibi tuta rogantes
> Septa, ratæ ad Stygias bella ingressura lacunas.
> Indoluere igitur merito regna omnia quando
> Communi commune malum mœrore dolendum est.

The resemblance is much more marked in the case of the following lines (1. 79 a, b):

> Parthenices primo ingressu simulachra per omnem
> Legimus Ægyptum subita cecidisse ruina,
> Et collisa solo. Jacuit resupinus Anubis,
> Cornibus auratis solio ruit Isis ab alto,
> Occidit extemplo luctu quæsitus Osiris;
> Sicut cum trepidi per cæca silentia fures
> Noctis eunt taciti, vigilantque ad furta repente,
> Si densas abigat lux improvisa tenebras,

Diffugiunt, lucemque timent, ceduntque diei.
Attoniti vates illis responsa diebus
Nulla dabant, stabatque oculos immotus aruspex.
Sparsa sacerdotes timido legere deorum
Frusta ministerio; cœpit tunc perdere vires
Cæca superstitio, verique exurgere Patris
Cultus, et occulto superum latrea favore,

Even Milton's 'unshowered grass' might have been suggested—though he could not have been ignorant of the classical authorities on the subject—by Mantuan's (1. 81a)

Ægyptus pluviam nescit. . . .

Cf. Crashaw (ed. Turnball, p. 47):

He saw the falling idols all confess
A coming Deity.

226–8. The implication here is that Christ slew, or routed, Typhon, as Hercules strangled serpents in his cradle. There seems also to be an allusion to the obscure legend according to which Hercules, and not Zeus, or perhaps Zeus with the assistance of Hercules, overcame Typhon.

The following description of Typhon is from Apollodorus 1. 5. 3: 'When the gods had overcome the giants, Ge, still more enraged, submitted to the embraces of Tartarus, and gave birth to Typhon in Cilicia. Typhon was of twofold nature—half man and half beast, and in size and strength superior to all those that Ge had borne hitherto. Down to the waist he was a man of gigantic stature, rising higher than all mountains, and with a head that now and again touched the stars. One of his hands reached to the setting, and the other to the rising, of the sun, and above them towered a hundred dragon-heads. Below the waist were enormous serpent-coils, whose convolutions clustered with a tremendous hissing about his very crest. His whole body was feathered. His shaggy hair and beard were blown about by the winds, and fire flashed from his eyes. Such and so great was Typhon. Snatching at masses of rock, he would hurl them up to the sky, while through it all resounded fierce clamor and hissing, and seething flames shot from his mouth.'

For *snaky twine*, cf. Manilius, *Astr.* 4. 579:

Anguipedem elatis humeribus Typhona furentem.

Virgil (*Æn.* 8. 297–8) implies a conflict of Hercules with Typhon, or Typhoeus:

Non terruit ipse Typhoeus.
Arduus arma tenens,

in a chorus to the praise of Hercules.

This Typhon is sometimes confounded with the Egyptian Typhon (or Set), the enemy of Osiris (Plutarch, *Is. and Osir.*), as the Greek Typhon was the enemy of Zeus. According to one account, he was overthrown by Horus (Herodian 2. 156).

The heroes of mythology have always been slayers of dragons and monsters, from Hercules to Beowulf, and in Egypt and Babylonia as well as in Greece and England. The Pythian Apollo slays the serpent (according to Hyginus, *Fab.* 140, when only four days old; cf. the exploits of Hermes in the Homeric Hymn), and St. George, like Michael, overthrows the Dragon. See Dieterich, *Abraxas*, pp. 111 ff.

The astronomical poets loved to associate the signs of the heavens with the corresponding legendary personages and their exploiis. Similarly, in Prudentius' account of the star in the east, representing the infant Christ, passing over the face of heaven, and destroying the constellation of the serpent, we may have an allusion to the downfall of the Old Dragon at the birth of Christ (see Brockhaus, *Prudentius*, p. 251, note). Prudentius' lines are (*Apoth.* 615–620):

'Vidimus hunc,' aiunt, 'puerum per sidera ferri,
Et super antiquos signorum ardescere tractus.
Diriguit trepidans Chaldæo in vertice pernox
Astrologus: *cessisse anguem*, fugisse leonem,
Contraxisse pedes lateris manco ordine cancrum,
Cornibus infractis domitum mugire juvencum,' etc.

See note on 172, and cf. Phineas Fletcher, *Purple Island* 11. 456 ff.

Hercules, by slaying the serpents in his cradle, would but be continuing the work begun in the overthrow of Typhon. The story is graphically told by Theocritus, *Idyll.* 24. After the exploit, Tiresias the prophet was called in, and uttered this prediction concerning the infant: 'Such a man, even this thy son, shall mount to the starry firmament. . . . Twelve labors is he fated to accomplish, and thereafter to dwell in the house of Zeus. . . . And the son of the Immortals . . . shall he be called. . . . Verily that day shall come when the ravening wolf, beholding the fawn in his lair, will not seek to work him harm.' A similar account is given by Pindar (*Nem.* 1), who closes thus: 'But he in peace himself should obtain a reward of rest from his great toils throughout all time continually

within the house of bliss, and after that he had . . . made his marriage-feast [cf. Rev. 19. 9; 21. 9], should remain beside Zeus, . . . well pleased with the dwelling-place divine.'

It must not be forgotten that Hercules, like Christ, had an actual and a putative father, an immortal and a mortal (cf. Mantuan 1. 213 b).

229. **So, when the Sun.** Cf. *Haml.* 1. 5. 89:

> The glow-worm shows the matin to be near,
> And 'gins to pale his uneffectual fire.

Cf. *Haml.* 1. 1. 147–157; 1. 2. 218–220; *M.N.D.* 3. 2. 378–387. This belief seems to have been derived from the ancients. Thus, Propertius 5. 7. 89–91 Müller:

> Nocte vagæ ferimur, nox clausas liberat umbras
> Errat et abjecta Cerberus ipse sera.
> Luce jubent leges Lethæa ad stagna reverti.

The phantom of Anchises thus addresses Æneas (*Æn.* 5. 738–740):

> Jamque vale: torquet medios Nox umida cursus,
> Et me sævus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis.
> Dixerat, et tenuis fugit, ceu fumus, in auras.

Donatus comments: 'Non sinitur mortuis loqui cum sol fuerit exortus.' Cf. *Æn.* 6. 255.

Statius, *Theb.* 4. 120–121:

> Dixit, et abscedens (etenim jam pallida turbant
> Sidera lucis equi). . . .

Claudian, *De Bell. Gildon.* 348:

> Dixit, et afflatus vicino sole refugit.

Philostratus, in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (4. 16), after relating the apparition of the ghost of Achilles, accompanied by a movement of a mound near by, ends thus: 'Having said this, . . . he vanished in a slight flash of lightning, *for now the cocks began to crow*.'

Lucian, *Philopseudes* 14 (tr. Fowler): 'She [Chrysis] came in; . . . and she stayed on till at last we heard cocks crowing. Away flew the Moon into Heaven, Hecate disappeared under ground, all the apparitions vanished.'

Prudentius, *Cath.* 1. 37–40:

> Ferunt vagantes dæmonas,
> Lætos tenebris noctium,
> Gallo canente exterritos
> Sparsim timere et cedere;
>
> Invisa nam vicinitas
> Lucis, salutis, numinis,
> Rupto tenebrarum situ
> Noctis fugat satellites.

Augustine, *Sermo* 103: 'Ista dæmonia seducere animas quærunt, sed, ubi sol ortus est, fugiunt.'

Æneas of Gaza (late 5th century) contends (Theophrastus, pp. 65–6 Barth) that when soothsayers pretend to raise the dead, human forms and actions are represented by demons. This is shown by the fact that these phantoms vanish at the rising of the sun, which, if they were true human souls, they would not do, but rather remain and hold converse with their friends.

On this Barth comments as follows: 'Spectra talia orto Sole diffugere atque evanescere est traditio vulgaris experientiaque confirmata. Omnia enim vita functa Solis non jam jus usurpandi habere scitum est antiquis. Nos, quod antiqui tradunt, usu comperimus, de quo non paucis alibi. Neque enim spectra nos semel vidimus, neque semel ad ortum Solem coram oculis nostris evanuisse testari possumus.'

On the night as the time for ghosts to appear, cf. Virgil, *Æn.* 4. 351–3:

> Me patris Anchisæ, quotiens umentibus umbris
> Nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
> Admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago.

See also Statius, *Silv.* 1. 94–8; Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* 3. 19.

229. Cf. Drummond, *Hymn of the Passion* (*Muses' Library* 2. 11):

> If when far in the east ye do behold
> Forth from his crystal bed the sun to rise,
> With rosy robes and crown of flaming gold.

230. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes, s. v. *curtain*: Lydgate (ca. 1430), *Bochas* 8. 24: 'Some skyes donne Myght percase curtayne his beames clere.' Gilles Durant, *Zod. Am.* 141 (1588), quoted by Sidney Lee, *Mod. Phil.* 3. 156, has

> Qui du lit de Phœbus entr'-ouure le rideau,

which Chapman translates (*Am. Zod.*):

> And from Apollos bed the vaile doth twine.

231. **Pillows.** The first recorded use of the verb in English, according to the *New Eng. Dict.* Cf. Fletcher, *Christ's Victory*:

> He, earth's great prophet, he whom rest doth fly,
> That on salt billows, doth, as pillows, sleeping lie.

232. **flocking shadows pale.** For the noun between two adjectives cf. *Com.* 470, 'gloomy shadows damp'; and see note on 187.

flocking. Conveys a different notion from *Troop*, 233. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 11. 42, 632–3.

shadows pale. Virgil's 'pallentis umbras Erebi' (*Æn.* 4. 26); 'animas . . . pallentis' (4. 242–3); 'simulacra modis pallentia miris' (*G.* 1. 477, from Lucr. 1. 123). Cf. Seneca, *Œd.* 583–4. A similar conception of shades or ghosts is found in Hebrew, in the word *rephaim*: Job 26. 5; Ps. 88. 10; Prov. 2. 18; 9. 18; 21. 16; Isa. 14. 9; 26. 4, 19. Cf. 1 Sam. 28. 7 ff.; Mk. 6. 49.

233. **Troop to the infernal jail.** Cf. Lucan 1. 454–6:

> Umbræ
> Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
> Pallida regna petunt.

Troop. Cf. *Com.* 603; Shakespeare, *M.N.D.* 3. 2. 382.

infernal jail. Homer's Tartarus has a gate of iron (*Il.* 8. 15). In Hesiod, *Theog.* 726, Tartarus is surrounded by a brazen wall. In Virgil (*Æn.* 6. 549 ff.), it has a triple wall, and a huge gate with posts of adamant, besides a tower of iron. Ovid, *Met.* 4. 453, speaks of it as a prison closed with gates of adamant. Seneca has *inferorum carcer* (*Herc. Fur.* 1222): cf. *Thy.* 16, 803–5; *Herc. Fur.* 57, 737; *Herc. Œt.* 1008, 1142–3; *Hipp.* 836; Lucan 6. 747–8. Milton may perhaps also have remembered Shakespeare, *Haml.* 1. 5. 13–14:

> But that I am forbid
> To tell the secrets of my prison-house.

He was, of course, familiar with 1 Pet. 3. 19, with its reference to 'spirits in prison' (cf. *P.L.* 11. 725). Milton often refers to hell as a prison: *P.L.* 1. 71; 2. 59, 434; 4. 824, 906; 1. 364. Cf. P. Fletcher, *Purple Island* 7. 75:

> Breaks ope the jayl, and brings the prisoners thence.

234. **fettered.** 'Bound to return to the grave at a certain time'(L.). Verity compares *Com.* 434–5:

> unlaid ghost,
> That breaks his magic chains at curfew time.

slips to his several grave. There is the same confusion between this and the preceding line—'infernal jail' and 'several grave' —as in Shakespeare, to whom Milton is doubtless here indebted. Thus *Haml.* 1. 1. 115–6:

> The graves stood tenantless, and the sheeted dead
> Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets;

M.N.D. 3. 2. 382, 384: 'churchyards,' 'wormy beds.' Cf. *M.N.D.* 5. 1. 387–9; *2 Hen. VI* 1. 4. 22; *J.C.* 2. 2. 18; *Macb.* 2. 3. 84; 3. 4. 71; *Haml.* 1. 4. 48–51; 1. 5. 125; 3. 2, 407.

235. **yellow-skirted.** In Hesiod, *Theog.* 358, the Oceanid Telestho is yellow-skirted (χροκόπεπλος). Such nymphs of rivers and brooks would naturally cause flowers to bud and blossom (cf. *Orph. H.* 51; Virgil, *Ecl.* 2. 45–6); hence perhaps the suggestion of a flower-colored robe.

fays. Fairies are frequently identified or associated in English poetry with nymphs. Cf. Spenser, *Shep. Cal.*, June 25–32:

> Here no night-ravenes lodge, more black then pitche,
> Nor elvish ghosts, nor gastly owles doe flee.
>
> But frendly Faeries, met with many Graces,
> And lightfoote Nymphes, can chace the lingring Night
> With Heydeguyes and trimly trodden traces,
> Whilst systers nyne, which dwell on Parnasse hight,
> Doe make them musick for their more delight:
> And Pan himselfe, to kisse their christall faces,
> Will pype and daunce when Phœbe shineth bright:
> Such pierlesse pleasures have we in these places.

Chambers, in his notes on *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in the Arden Shakespeare, quotes several passages bearing on this identification. Thus (p. 149), Nash, *Terrors of the Night* (*Works*, ed. Grosart, 3. 223): 'The Robin-good-fellows, Elfs, Fairies, Hobgoblins of our latter age, which idolatrous former days and the fantastical world of Greece ycleped Fauns, Satyrs, Dryads, and Hamadryads, did most of their merry pranks in the night.' He also has (p. 139): James the First, *Dæmonologia* 3. 5: 'That fourth kind of spirites, which by the Gentiles was called Diana and her wandring court, and amongst us

called the Phairie.' Reginald Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (Chambers, p. 148) 3. 2. 32, identifies the 'lady of the fairies' with 'Sibylla, Minerva, or Diana.' Chambers remarks (p. 144) that 'Titania is only a synonym of Diana,' referring to Ovid, *Met.* 3. 173, where Titania, translated by Golding 'Phœbe,' means 'Titan-born.'

236. **night-steeds.** There are four of these, which he names, in Milton's Latin poem, *In Quintum Novembris* 70–73. Cf. *Il P.* 59–60:

> While Cynthia checks her dragon yoke
> Gently o'er the accustomed oak.

moon-loved maze. Cf. *Com.* 181:

> In the blind mazes of this tangled wood;

P.R. 2. 246:

> Wandering this woody maze.

For the idea of a forest as a maze Milton may have been indebted to Virgil's picture of the wanderings of Nisus through the tangled wood in search of Euryalus (*Æn.* 9. 379 ff.).

The 'moon-loved maze' = the groves or forests beloved by Diana. Of Diana's fondness for woods there are many testimonies in the poets. Cf. Horace, *Carm. Sæc.* 1–2:

> Phœbe silvarumque potens Diana,
> Lucidum cæli decus.

In *Æn.* 9. 403, Nisus invokes the moon as

> Astrorum decus et nemorum Latonia custos.

Add Horace, *Od.* 3. 22. 1:

> Montium custos nemorumque virgo.

And so *Od.* 1. 21. 5–8; Catullus 34. 9–12; Silius Italicus 15. 769–771; Nervesianus, *Cynæg.* 86 ff.; Milton, *Com.* 446; *P.L.* 9. 386 ff. Cf. Shakespeare, *M.N.D.* 2. 1. 140–1; *Temp.* 5. 1. 33, 36–7. The nymphs are often found in the company of Diana. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 6. 102–6: 'And even as Artemis, the archer, moveth down the mountain, either along the ridges of lofty Taygetus or Erymanthus, taking her pastime in the chase of boars and swift deer, and with her the wild wood-nymphs disport them, the daughters of Zeus.' Add Callimachus, *Hymn to Diana* 13 ff., 170; Apollonius Rhodius 1. 1223; 3. 881; Virgil, *Æn.* 1. 498–501; Horace, *Od.* 4. 6. 33–4; Ovid, *Met.* 3. 155 ff., 1. 690 ff.; 2. 451 ff.; 4. 304; *F.* 2. 155 ff.; Milton, *P.R.* 2. 354–5.

237. **Virgin.** This suggests the beginning of the poem, l. 3.

238. **Babe.** Cf. 16, 151, 222, 227.

240. **youngest-teemèd.** Latest born.

star. Cf. *P L.* 12. 360; *P.R.* 1. 249 ff. It is still dark.

241. **car.** Chariot.

242. **handmaid.** The first instance of the word as attributive in English. The star is represented as feminine (because of Lat. *stella*?).

lamps. So of stars in *P.L.* 8. 250; 9. 104; *Com.* 198. Cf. Greek λαμπός.

243. **courtly.** 'Serving as a royal residence' (L.)

244. **Bright-harnessed.** Clothed in bright armor. See 114.

order. See *ranks*, 114.

serviceable. 'Ready or prepared for service' (L.).

Cf. *Upon the Circumcision* 1 ff.

Yale University. Albert S. Cook.

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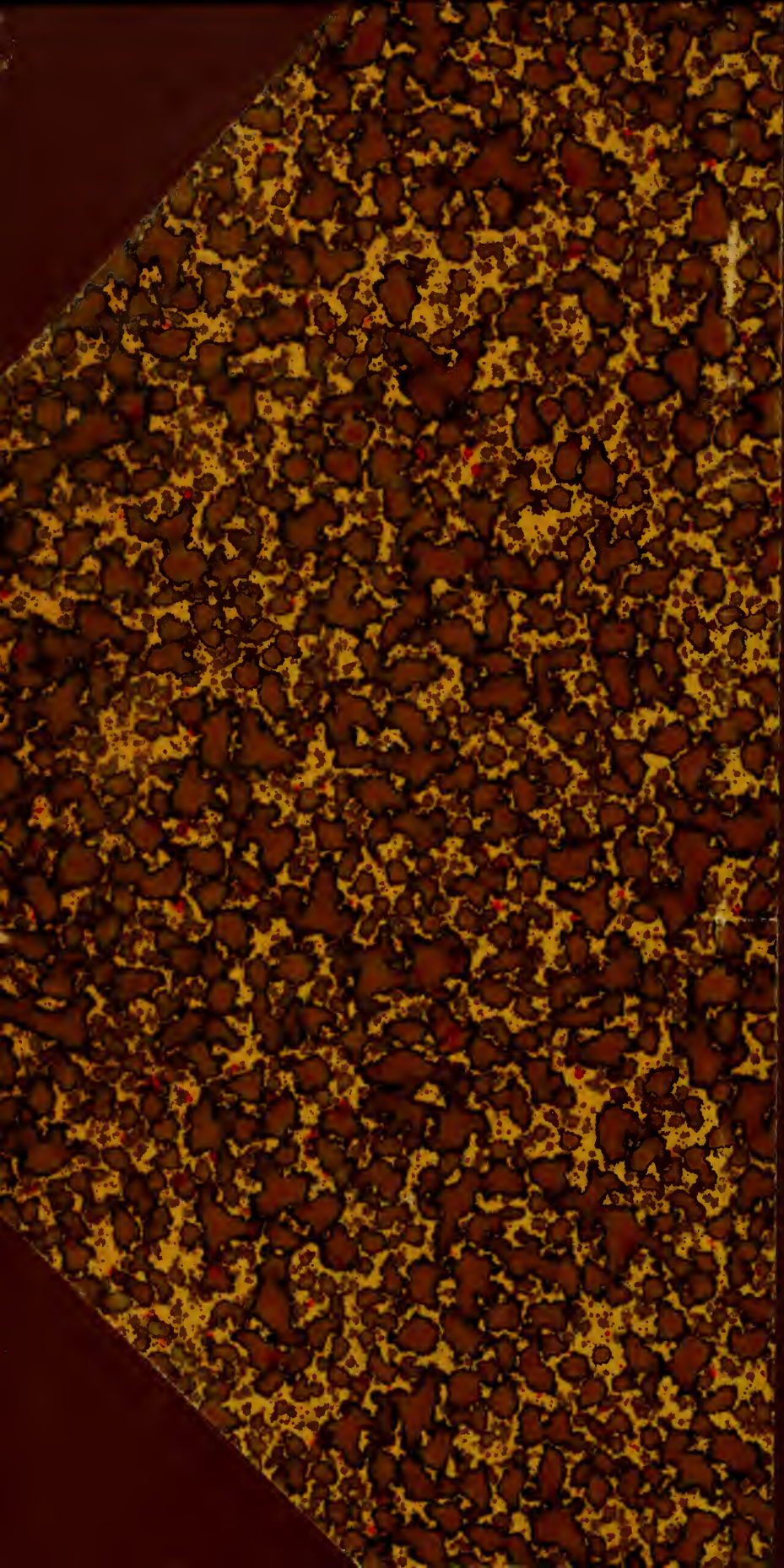
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